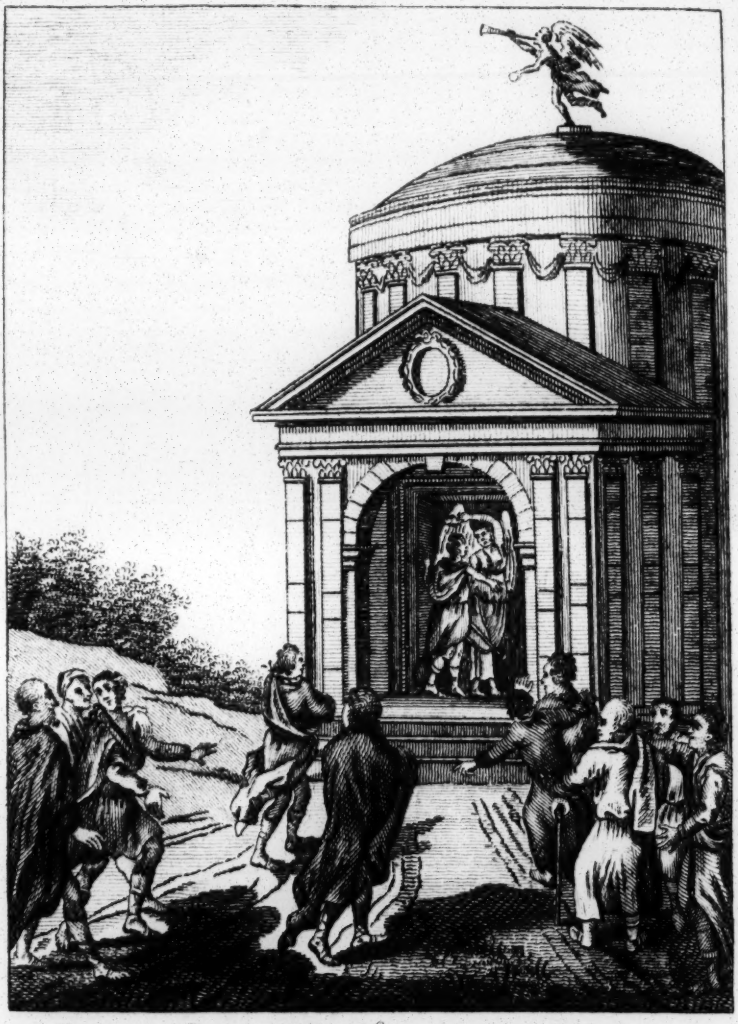

High on a Rock of Ice the Structure lay,
Steep its Ascent, and Slipp'ry was the Way;
On this Foundation FAME'S *high Temple stands;*
Stupendous Pile! not rear'd by mortal Hands:
Here godlike Chiefs in darker Ages born,
Or Worthies old, whom Arms or Arts adorn,
Who Cities raisd, or tamd a monstrous Race,
The Walls in venerable Order grace:
But Chief were Those, who not for Empire fought,
But with their Toils their People's Safety bought.

Pope.

THE

WAY to the TEMPLE

OF

True HONOR and FAME

BY THE

PATHS of HEROIC VIRTUE:

EXEMPLIFIED IN

The moſt entertaining LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS of both SEXES:

On the Plan laid down by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in his *Eſſay of Heroic Virtue.*

In FOUR VOLUMES.

By W. COOKE, A. B.

Fellow of NEW COLLEGE, *Oxford*, and Chaplain to the Moſt Honorable the MARQUIS of TWEEDDALE.

VOLUME III.

Abhor'd the Tale, which vain Amuſement brings,
Tempts the frail Mind, and tickles 'till it ſtings;
But bleſs'd theſe Lines, that, in each faithful Page,
Impart the Fruits of far-experienc'd Age,
Founded on Truth, the youthful Heart which mend,
And precious Uſe with various Pleaſure blend.

DEVIZES,

Printed and Sold by T. BURROUGH, Bookſeller;
Sold alſo by L. *Davis*, over againſt Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holbourn, LONDON.

M,DCC,LXXIII.

THE

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THE WAY to the TEMPLE OF True HONOR and FAME, BY THE PATHS of HEROIC VIRTUE.

CHAP. I.

Of ASPASIA.

ASPASIA was one of the moſt famous women of all antiquity; but has ſuffered much injuſtice from the libellers of her time, on account of her connections with Pericles. She was lovely in her perſon, altho', if we may believe Lucian, it was of the largeſt ſize. Her natural endowments claimed the higheſt admiration, nor was ſhe leſs diſtinguiſhed by her acquired accompliſhments. Miletus a city in Ionia, famous for producing perſons of extraordinary abilities, was the place of her birth. The time of it can only be

gueſſed at. She was in all probability much about fifteen years younger than Pericles, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the ſeventy-eighth Olympiad. Her father's name was Axiochus; but with regard to his quality and circumſtances we are left without information. But it is very likely, from her learning, œconomy, and other excellent qualities, that ſhe was of reputable family and fortune.

On what occaſion and at what time Aſpaſia came to Athens, are points unſettled alſo. However, after continuing in it ſome time, ſhe ſo much approved of the place and the manners of the people, that ſhe determined to take up her reſidence in it. Here ſhe rendered herſelf conſpicuous by her perfection in the art of ſpeaking, which ſhe poſſeſſed in a ſuperlative degree; being alſo admirably verſed in all the branches of uſeful literature, particularly natural Philoſophy and Politics.

One Thargelia, an Ionian too, was her model. This lady had made herſelf conſpicuous in Greece by her charms, had addicted herſelf chiefly to the Grandees, many of whom ſhe brought over to the intereſt of the great king; and, as Plutarch ſays, ſowed the firſt ſeeds of the Median faction in moſt of the cities of Greece. Aspasia reſembled, and even ſurpaſſed her. But it muſt not be imagined that this fair one excelled, like ſome of our age, in light and amorous

amorous diſcourſes. Her diſſertations were on the contrary not more brilliant than ſolid, inſtructive and perſuaſive. Hence the moſt eminent perſons of the age applied to her for inſtruction. The great Socrates was her diſciple, and in Plato, he ſpeaks of her in terms of veneration. It was believed by this admirable philoſopher, and by the moſt intelligent Athenians, that ſhe compoſed the celebrated harangue or funeral oration which Pericles pronounced with ſo much applauſe.

WHAT then muſt we conceive of the abilities of ASPASIA, who had Pericles for a lover, and Socrates for a diſciple? Whoſe fine qualities engaged the moſt conſiderable perſons in Athens, not only to viſit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures. As eloqoence was, of all others, the moſt neceſſary talent for an Athenian ſtateſman; ſo Pericles, upon hearing ASPASIA, determined alſo to become her ſcholar. For he obſerved, that with a method altogether exact, ſhe mingled the warmeſt and moſt pathetic ſtrokes of perſuaſive oratory, uniting the ſymmetry ariſing from art, with the vehemence flowing from nature.

FROM the daily admiration of her wiſdom, this great Athenian fell ſoon into a deep affection for her perſon; a thing not wonderful in itſelf, and the leſs ſo, if that be true which is reported of Pericles

by moſt writers, that he was of a very amorous diſpoſition. Certain it is, that Aſpaſia gained an abſolute dominion over him, and had as great an aſcendency over his genius, as he had over the Athenians. Plutarch reports that, as often as Pericles went to, or returned from, the Forum, he went to the apartment of ASPASIA and ſaluted her. The tenderneſs which this great man upon all occaſions expreſſed for ASPASIA (for he concealed no part of the regard which he had for her) made his wife, who was a woman of family, to behave with much indifference towards him. To be rid of this domeſtic uneaſineſs, Pericles readily conſented that ſhe ſhould betake herſelf to an huſband more agreeable to her.

BEING now at liberty, Pericles took ASPASIA to wife, whom he had ſo long ardently loved before. Heraclides of Pontus ſays, that Pericles having divorced his wife, abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, and living with ASPASIA, ſpent on her the greateſt part of his fortune. But this, as our author obſerves, ought to be regarded as meer calumny, it being morally certain that Pericles in the firſt place was never profuſe; and in the ſecond, that ASPASIA piqued herſelf exceedingly on her ſkill in œconomy and management.

As ſhe was a Mileſian by birth, and Pericles was known to conſult her upon all emergencies, Plutarch intimates

intimates as if she might have been the cause of the Samian war. If she really was so, she might also have conceived it just and advantageous to the Athenian state. But that it proved so destructive to the Samians, was their own fault, and entirely owing to their revolt after the first surrender, and the assistance sent to them by the governor of Sardis. But the cause of this war is laid before the reader in the life of Pericles; and the silence of Thucydides, with respect to this aspersion, is a sufficient confutation of it. However she is reported to have accompanied Pericles in the Samian expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

But there is a much heavier accusation laid to her charge by the comic writers of those days, as having acted in the double capacity of bawd and whore; an accusation not countenanced by any grave author of that time, and altogether inconsistent with that wisdom and prudence, which is ascribed to her by the great moral philosoper Socrates. Thus, as Eupolis abused the illustrious Cimon, accusing him even of incest with his sister Elpinice; so both he, and Cratinus and Aristophanes, did not cease to lash Pericles for affecting sovereignty, and treated Aspasia with inhuman cruelty on this account. Aristophanes particularly has ridicuously imputed the whole of the Megarensian war to their having carried off two maid

ſervants belonging to ASPASIA; "and thus, ſays "he, for the ſake of three whores was all Greece in-"volved in a war."

TRUE it is, that two ſervants of ASPASIA had been forced away by ſome of the people of Megara. This violence was loudly complained of by the Athenians, and an herald was diſpatched to Megara with their complaints of the injury, and to require ſatisfaction. But this herald was ſlain by them on the road. And it was this violation of a ſacred character, which gave birth to the war. The enemies of Pericles indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the Megarians. But that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor Hadrian granted many priveledges and favors to the cities of Greece, he expreſsly excepted the Megarians on account of this very murder. If Thucydides had conceived that any of theſe charges had been juſtly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneers of Ariſtophanes, and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence; ſince they were enemies alike to all that were eminent. Thus, at other times, they called Pericles Jupiter, and ASPASIA Juno. They likewiſe characteriſed her under the names of Omphale and Dejanira, the one the wife, and the other the miſtreſs, of Hercules, and many other ways. Cratinus uſed her

her the worſt; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned ſtrumpet. It is evident enough that the ſpleen of Pericles' enemies prompted them to ſay any thing of him, or of thoſe in his favor, men or women. The former they called the Pimps and courtiers, and the latter the whores and bawds, of the new Piſiſtratus. But we have done with theſe ſhameleſs proſtitutors of wit, the ridicule of whoſe pens, even the morality of Socrates could not eſcape. Thus much however was neceſſary for the vindication of this illuſtrious character.

She bore a ſon to Pericles, who was called after the name of his father. And it was in behalf of this ſon, that the Athenians abrogated that ſevere law, which diſfranchiſed children of the half-blood.

How long ſhe lived a widow after the death of Pericles, we are no where informed. Plutarch has recorded that ſhe was afterwards married to one Lyſicles, a perſon neither diſtinguiſhed for his family nor parts, but whom by her intereſt ſhe raiſed to great employments in the ſtate; but what thoſe employments were, we are not told, nor any thing further of this ASPASIA, which deſerves notice.

ASPASIA the YOUNGER.

BUT there was another lady of the name, whoſe character and fortune were too extraordinary to be here paſſed over in ſilence. She was the daughter

of

of Hermotimus of Phocœa, and had the misfortune to lose her mother almost as soon as she was born; for she dyed in child-bed. The circumstances of her father were but mean, and her education suitable. She was inured to work and brought up hardily. Yet at the same time the greatest care was taken of her morals. And while the daughters of those who were born to the same condition of life, made themselves daily subservient to the pleasures of the wealthy, even with the consent and approbation of their parents, ASPASIA was distinguished and admired beyond all for the modesty of her behaviour.

BUT before she came of years to be thus particularly taken notice of, and while she was yet a girl, a large tumour or swelling which grew out just under the projection of her chin, gave her much trouble and uneasiness. Her father was under equal concern; for it not only deformed her face, but the look of it was entirely distasteful and forbidding. A physician was consulted on this occasion, who promised a cure, upon condition that three pieces of gold should be advanced in hand. But the father declaring his inability to furnish that sum, they were deprived of the assistance which they had hoped for. This threw them into great perplexity. Poor ASPASIA retired and vented her grief in a flood of tears. Then returning and viewing herself in a glass, she sighed most bitterly. Thus was the whole day wasted in

different

different expreſſions of ſorrow, and at night ſhe went to bed faſting. But that relief, which ſhe had deſpaired of by day, was now offered to her in a very extraordinary manner in ſleep. She dreamed that a dove came to her, and, preſently aſſuming the ſhape of a woman, thus ſpoke to her: "Be of good cour-"age, and bid a long fare-well to phyſic and phy-"ſicians: only pound a quantity of dried Roſes, "of which make a pultice, and apply it to the "ſwelling." She was ſo affected by this dream, that ſhe did not fail to try the experiment and was cured accordingly.

As ſhe now conceived that there was ſomething ſupernatural in this dream, ſhe was induced to have the more confidence in others, which made ſtrong impreſſions upon her fancy. And the impreſſion which they made, was the ſtronger we preſume, becauſe it correſponded with her wiſhes. For ſhe was nightly dreaming of excellent fortune, and of ſharing it with a great and good man.

WHEN ſhe arrived at that time of life, when youth in females is moſt engaging, ſhe was remarked to be graceful and amiable beyond all the virgins that were her contemporaries. Her hair was of a fair yellow, and the locks of it were beautifully curled. She had large eyes, and her noſe was a little inclining to the aquiline. Her ears were ſhort, and her

her ſkin ſoft and delicate, and the cleareſt imaginable. The roſes in her cheeks were bright and blooming, inſomuch that the inhabitants of Phocœa gave her the name of Milto; by which that colour is particularly ſignified. Her moiſt lips reſembled the full ripe cherry, and her teeth were as white as ſnow. When ſhe walked, the decency of her motion, and the beautiful and exact proportion of her feet and ancles captivated the eye of the beholder. Her voice was ſo ſweet and muſical, that had you been there while ſhe was ſpeaking, you would have ſaid that you had heard a Siren.

But theſe beauties were all natural and unimproved by ornament. Being mean herſelf, and of mean parentage, ſhe had been inſtructed in none of the arts, which the fair make uſe of to ſet off their beauty. Nor, had ſhe known and poſſeſſed the means of uſing them, was ſhe ſo diſpoſed; being content, as well ſhe might be, with thoſe charms which heaven had lent her, and not aiming at making conqueſts.

The fame of her exquiſite beauty having reached the ears of the Perſian Satrap or governor; he thinking thereby to perform an acceptable ſervice, demanded her of her father. The good old man found himſelf obliged to part with her; which he did with much reluctance, and ſore againſt her

own

own will. In conſequence of this, ſhe was preſented, in company with three other maidens to Cyrus the younger, the ſon of Darius and Pariſatis, and the brother of Artaxerxes king of Perſia.

It was after ſupper, and this prince was drinking freely, after the Perſian faſhion, when the four ladies were brought before him. The reſt were painted, perfumed and dreſſed out to the beſt advantage. They had alſo been carefully inſtructed by the teachers of the Seraglio in the arts of flattery and blandiſhment; not to ſhew the leaſt averſion to the prince, when he ſhould approach them, to bear his touch without apprehenſion, and even to receive his kiſſes with complacency: meretricious arts; and ſuch as are well known to thoſe, who make their beauties venal.

Every one of theſe therefore ſtrove to appear more charming than her fellows. But Aſpaſia could not be prevailed upon to wear the coſtly tunic or brocaded robe, or to be conducted to the bath; but with great lamentations implored the Grecian gods, the protectors of liberty. She called aloud upon the name of her father, and wiſhed for death both to herſelf and him. For, that rich dreſs and thoſe unuſual decorations ſhe conſidered as the certain marks and undoubted arguments of ſlavery. Therefore it was not without much a do, and many ſtripes

that

that ſhe was at laſt induced to wear it. And, when ſhe yielded to the commands of thoſe, who now had the care of her, ſhe complained moſt bitterly of their compulſion, which obliged her to put on what well enough became the courteſan, but could not ſuit an honeſt maiden.

When the reſt then came before Cyrus, as they had aptly received their inſtructions, ſo as readily they reduced them to practice. When he looked at them, they returned an amorous glance and ſmiled upon him, carrying themſelves with much ſeeming hilarity. But Aspasia caſt her eyes downward, while her face was covered with the moſt evident marks of ardent ſhame. Her eyes were ſwoln with weeping; and her whole geſture ſpoke moſt convincingly the modeſty of her behaviour paſt, and of her preſent diſpoſition.

When Cyrus therefore gave order that they ſhould ſeat themſelves near him, the others without difficulty obeyed; but Aspasia was altogether deaf to his command, 'till the ſatrap or governor, who had brought her thither, obliged her, not without ſome violence, to ſit down. When he handled them, and took accurate notice of their eyes, their cheeks and fingers, they not only ſuffered it, but took pleaſure in it. But far otherwiſe it was with Aspasia. If he but touched her with the extremity

of

of his finger; ſhe cried out, and told him that he would certainly be puniſhed for attempting ſuch things.

CYRUS was beyond meaſure delighted with her behaviour: but when he laid his hand upon her breaſts, ſhe roſe up and endeavoured to make her eſcape. The prince then, admiring the liberality of her diſpoſition, which diſdained a licentious freedom even from himſelf, turned to the governor and ſaid, "You have brought me but this one ingenuous and "uncorrupt: for the reſt have all the air and man-"ner of diſhoneſt women." He therefore ordered her to be taken particular care of, and expreſſed the greateſt regard for her. When an intercourſe of ſome time had paſſed, he began to love her with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and perceived that he had alſo made ſome impreſſion upon her heart. And their mutual affection grew to that height at laſt, that Cyrus, forgetting the faſhion of his country, received her as his wife, living with her after the Grecian manner, and confined himſelf to her alone with ſingular chaſtity and fidelity.

ALL this while ASPASIA did not give herſelf up to the ſtudy of dreſs, finery and pleaſure. She was not taken with the delicacies and luxury of an eaſtern court. She did not ſpend her time in muſic, dancing, and other incentive ſoftneſſes; but looked

for the beſt examples and the wiſeſt inſtructors; paid a due regard to the cultivation of her underſtanding and the improvement of her genius. Theſe additions, ſhe juſtly imagined, would make her ſtill more acceptable to Cyrus, and give her charms which time would brighten and illuſtrate, while thoſe that were external, would gradually fail and loſe their art of pleaſing.

CYRUS, delighted with her manner of proceding, gave her all the aſſiſtance and perſonal encouragement in his power. He obſerved in her a wonderful docility and a moſt excellent judgement. So that he now conſulted her in matters of ſtate and policy, and found her advice in buſineſs of the higheſt importance equal to that of his wiſeſt counſellors; to which was added this moſt conſiderable advantage, that the giver of it could not be ſuſpected.

BY converſing with the Greeks, who reſorted to the court of Cyrus, ſhe made herſelf a perfect miſtreſs of argumentation, and was in that reſpect a match for the moſt celebrated philoſophers of the age in which ſhe lived. One of the wiſeſt of them all, the great Xenophon and his wife, were there, when Cyrus meditated the expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes. Cicero has given us the particulars of a converſation, which was ſuppoſed to paſs between ASPASIA and them, and which is quite

quite in the Socratic method. Addreſſing herſelf to Xenophon's wife, 'Tell me,' ſaid ASPASIA, 'You 'who are the wife of Xenophon, if your neighbour 'has purer gold than you, would you rather chuſe 'to have her's, or your own?' 'Her's,' ſaid ſhe. 'If ſhe has a robe, or any other female ornament of 'greater value than you have, would you rather 'chuſe it, or your own?' 'I would chuſe her's,' anſwered ſhe again.' 'Well then, ſaid the other, if 'ſhe has a better huſband than you, would you have 'have her's, or your's?' Here the woman bluſhed. Then turning to Xenophon, ſhe ſaid, 'I pray you 'Xenophon, if your neighbour has a better horſe, 'than yours is, would you have your own, or his?" 'His,' ſaid he. 'If he has a better farm than you 'have, which farm would you rather chuſe?' That 'which is the better.' 'If he has a better wife, 'than you have, would you chuſe his?' Here Xenophon himſelf was ſilent. Then ſaid ASPASIA, 'Since neither of you care to anſwer that which I 'was principally deſirous of hearing, I will tell you 'what you both think; for both you, O woman, 'would have the beſt huſband, and you Xenophon, 'the choiceſt wife. Therefore unleſs you ſhall uſe 'your beſt endeavours, that a better huſband and 'a choicer wife be no where found, moſt certainly 'you will ever wiſh for that which you ſhall judge 'beſt; you, to be the huſband of the moſt excellent 'wife; and you, to be the wife of the moſt engag-

'ing huſband.' Here the argument by induction is not only the moſt pleaſing that can be imagined, but concludes with the moſt uſeful application that could be made: and perhaps ſhould be aſcribed to the elder ASPASIA.

THE rumour of the great eſteem and tenderneſs, which Cyrus on theſe accounts entertained for ASPASIA was noiſed abroad not only throughout Ionia, but all Greece. Cyrus and ASPASIA were the ſubject of all converſation even in Peloponneſus.—The fame of it had reached the court of the great king; and it was every where believed and ſpoken of with admiration, that Cyrus had no commerce with any other woman.

WHILE ASPASIA was reflecting on this great and ſudden advancement of her fortune, ſhe recollected her old dreams, and particularly that of the dove, with the words it had uttered, which ſhe now looked upon, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, as the entire prediction of Venus, under whoſe immediate protection ſhe ſuppoſed herſelf to be. To this goddeſs therefore ſhe now paid ſolemn ſacrifices, by way of gratitude. And firſt, ſhe had a ſtatue of gold of tolerable ſize made of her, cloſe to which a dove was placed, adorned with precious ſtones. Before this image every day ſhe paid her offerings and adorations.

NOR

NOR leſs exemplary was her behaviour towards her father Hermotimus, to whom ſhe ſent many and rich preſents, and raiſed him from his low condition to a ſtate of opulence. As for herſelf, ſhe lived a life of the ſtricteſt temperance; as was atteſted by all the women about her, both Greek and Perſian.

ON a time a coſtly and curious necklace had been ſent to Cyrus by the younger Scopas of Theſſaly, a man of prodigious wealth and oſtentation. This had been remitted to Scopas from Sicily, and was wrought and ſet with admirable art and variety. Cyrus ſhewed it to ſeveral perſons of approved judgment, who all confeſſed it to be a moſt valuable curioſity. The prince therefore rejoiced greatly that he had in his poſſeſſion a treaſure which might in ſome ſort be worthy of his dear ASPASIA. When he went with it to her at noon-day, he found her ſleeping in her bed-chamber, agreeably to the uſage of warm climates. He took pleaſure in the placid reſt which ſhe enjoyed, and crept gently under the covering, where he lay without giving her the leaſt diſturbance. When ſhe waked and found Cyrus there, ſhe was moſt agreably ſurprized: and he, opening a little caſket which he had in his hand; drew thence the necklace and ſhewed it to her, adding, that it was a preſent for the daughter or mother of a king. "And ſuch it is moſt worthily," ſhe anſwered. "'Tis yours, my love, ſaid he, take

" it, and ſhew me how that lovely neck will look,
" when it is embraced by ſuch a jewel." Yet ſhe was not ſo much charmed, as might have been expected, with the preſent, but wiſely and diſcreetly reply'd, " How ſhall I dare to appear before you,
" with an adornment worthy of Paryſatys the mother
" of my prince. Send it to her, my Cyrus, I beſeech you; and I for my part will endeavour to
" pleaſe you with a lovely neck without it."

THUS ASPASIA poſſeſſed a ſoul ſuperior to the generality of her ſex, not intent on gaiety and ſplendor, but eager, by the acquiſition of internal excellencies, to render herſelf worthy of her fortune. Cyrus received ſolid ſatisfaction from her prudence on this occaſion, tenderly embraced her, and did as ſhe requeſted. But by the ſame meſſenger that he ſent it, he diſpatched letters alſo to his mother, acquainting her with every particular of the affair.

PARYSATIS was not more pleaſed with her preſent, than with the behaviour of ASPASIA on this occaſion, whom ſhe joyed to find ſo worthy of her ſon's affections. The rich gifts that ſhe was continually ſending, after this, to ASPASIA, ſpoke the reality and the greatneſs of her eſteem. But it was this, which principally gave her pleaſure; that, altho' ſhe knew her to be infinitely dear to Cyrus, ſhe had

had yet found her willing that herſelf (Paryſatis) ſhould enjoy the firſt place in her ſon's affections.

ASPASIA on the other hand, as became a grateful mind, ſufficiently commended the magnificence of her gifts; tho' ſhe ſaid to thoſe about her, that ſhe did not want them, being rich enough in the affections of her lord. But as amongſt the aforeſaid gifts, there were great ſums of money remitted to her, all theſe ſhe ſent to Cyrus, letting him know, that "they might be of uſe to him, who maintained ſuch "multitudes of people; but that he was all in all "to her, and, while he ſuffered himſelf to be belov-"ed by her, he was her every wiſh and moſt re-"ſplendent ornament."

CYRUS was infinitely aſtoniſhed and raviſhed with a behaviour, ſo far beyond all that he had ever experienced in the ſex, and which was ſo agreeable to the nobleneſs of his own nature. For without controverſy ASPASIA commanded the higheſt admiration, as well for thoſe external graces with which heaven had bleſſed her, as for the more valuable endowments of the mind. He was therefore never eaſy at a diſtance from her. And when he undertook the unfortunate expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes, ſhe attended him with alacrity throughout all the toils and dangers of it.

WHEN Cyrus was ſlain in this enterprize, and his camp taken; ſhe alſo fell into the hands of Artaxerxes, not accidentally or as lighting upon enemies, but by the ſpecial and careful requiſition of the king himſelf; who was well acquainted with the reputation of her excellencies and virtue.

WHEN therefore ſhe was brought before him, as a captive in chains, he immediately enquired out the authors of ſo baſe an inſult, whom he ordered to priſon, and gave charge that ſhe ſhould be attended and clothed in the moſt magnificent manner. When ſhe heard this, ſhe let fall a floud of tears, bitterly bewailing the loſs of Cyrus; and was with much reluctance perſuaded to put on the precious robe which Artaxerxes preſented to her. The tumult which aroſe in the king's breaſt when he ſaw her in this attire, is much more eaſy to be conceived than expreſſed. The extremes of love and pity were viſible in his eyes and countenance. He ſaid and did all that could miniſter to her conſolation; was aſſiduous in his viſits, and tenderly officious to pleaſe her; hoping that length of time might ſo far ſoften her regret for Cyrus, that ſhe might with ſome warmth of gratitude, regard his ſervices. And indeed this was the only method by which her gentleneſs of diſpoſition could have been prevailed upon, after ſo ſevere an affliction.

His endeavours at laſt ſucceded; but it was long, very long, before he could flatter himſelf with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs. So dear to her was the remembrance of her former love. She ſaw the paſſion, which the great king entertained for her, and grieved to ſee it. But obſerving alſo, that after long and grievous trial, he could not conquer it, and conſidering his dignity, and the many and great obligations that ſhe had to him, ſhe prevailed upon herſelf at laſt to make ſuch return, as ſhe judged incumbent upon her in point of gratitude. The occaſion that offered itſelf was ſingular, and enhanced the merit of her conſent.

There was in the court of the great king an eunuch, named Teridates, generally reckoned the moſt accompliſhed perſon in Aſia. He had been long the favourite of Artaxerxes, who had contracted an intimate friendſhip with him. It happened that he now died, and as he was known to have been very dear to the king, all Aſia put on mourning, in compliment to his grief. This was ſo pungent, that none durſt preſume to approach the throne, or interrupt his ſorrows. But at the end of three days, as he was going to the Bath, Aspasia, clothed in deep mourning, put herſelf in his way, and ſtood weeping with her eyes fixed upon the grond. The king was ſtruck with wonder at the ſight, and enquired the cauſe of her coming to him. "I come, ſaid

ſaid ſhe, "to ſhare your affliction, and to miniſter "what conſolation I can, if it be acceptable: if not, "I will return." But this office was too agreeable to be refuſed.

FROM this time the king took her to his bed; and ſhe maintained to her death the ſame rank in the favor of Artaxerxes, which ſhe had before enjoyed in the eſteem and affection of Cyrus.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of LEONIDAS.

LEONIDAS was the ſon of Anaxandrides, and half-brother of Cleomenes king of Sparta; for he had the ſame father. He ſucceded Cleomenes in the kingdom, and married his daughter Gorgo. This Lacedæmonian lady makes a figure in his hiſtory, and her character deſerves particularly to be conſidered. When ſhe was but a child of eight or nine years old, Ariſtagoras waited upon her father, in order to draw him into the Ionian confederacy. Gorgo was then with her father, and he deſired him to bid the child withdraw, that they might be private. But Cleomenes telling him that he might ſpeak freely without apprehending any thing from ſo young a child; Ariſtagoras began with the promiſe of ten talents, in caſe Cleomenes would comply with his requeſt, and, receiving a denial, proceded gradually in his offers, 'till he came to the ſum of fifty talents. At that inſtant the girl cried out, "Fly, father, fly, elſe this ſtranger will corrupt "you." Cleomenes was ſo well pleaſed with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired to another

another apartment, and ordered Ariſtagoras to leave his dominions. When upon occaſion of the ſame viſit, ſhe ſaw Ariſtagoras ſuffer his man to put on his ſhoes, ſhe cried out in amazement, "Father, father! "ſee this ſtranger! has he no hands?" At another time, when a ſoft and delicate foreigner was about to have paid his compliments to her, ſhe put him away with her hand, adding, "Stand by, poor "creature! Thou haſt not ſo much of a man in thee "as a woman.

As the laſt and moſt noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark that Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, though ſhe was the daughter of his deadly enemy, truſted her, rather than any of the Greeks, with the intelligence which he ſent concerning the motion of the Perſians. Or, if we take this as Herodotus does, it may be placed in a ſtronger light. For he ſays, that a ſlave from Demaratus brought a waxen tablet to Sparta, with nothing written on it; and when the Spartans knew not what to make of this, Gorgo immediately told them to ſcrape off the wax: whereupon they found Demaratus's letter cut on the wood underneath. Such was the wife of LEONIDAS.

HE was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour ſuperior to moſt men of his age. Some of the Spartans however, who diſliked his family, affected

fected to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of him. One of them particularly told him to his face, "That, except be-"ing a king, he was no better than they." To which LEONIDAS, ſmiling, anſwered, "If I had "not been better than you, I had not been a king."

IT was in the reign of LEONIDAS that Xerxes king of Perſia, reſolved to put in execution the plan formed by his father Darius for a ſecond invaſion of Greece. The Spartans, with a reſolution worthy of the diſciples of Lycurgus, determined to oppoſe his attempts, powerful as he was. Demaratus, their exiled king, who had fled for protection to Xerxes, and had been kindly entertained, was obliged to accompany that monarch in this expedition; though, having ſtill a filial regard for his country, he had ſent early notice thereof to the wife of LEONIDAS.

WHEN therefore it was now apparent that Xerxes would invade Greece in Perſon with a numerous army, a general aſſembly of the Greek ſtates was held at the Iſthmus, the ſpirited reſolutions of which were theſe; "That the ſtates of Greece ſhould unanimouſly join in defending its liberty againſt the Perſians: that, for the preſent, all their quarrels amongſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpended; that the tenth of the ſpoil ſhould be dedicated to Apollo; and that, of thoſe who ſhould deſert the common cauſe, a decimation ſhould be made: that is, a tenth

part ſhould be put to death without mercy." Theſe indeed were warm and generous reſolutions, if the ſame ſpirit had accompany'd them in the execution. But alas! when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates, the Spartans and Athenians only ſeemed ready to do any thing effectual.

THESE were indeed the two moſt powerful cities of Greece, and againſt them was Xerxes chiefly exaſperated. Having therefore intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, they ſent ambaſſadors to Argos, to Sicily, to the iſland of Corcyra and Crete, to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of Argos offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition that they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the Lacedæmonians in the command. The latter conſented that the king of Argos ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of Sparta. But this offer did not ſatisfy the Argians, who thereupon ordered the ambaſſadors to depart the territories of Argos before ſun-ſet. They met with much the ſame return in Sicily; as we have already related in our account of Gelon, The inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of Laconia, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigning to ſide afterwards with the conquer-

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or. The people of Crete, having conſulted the oracle, to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians abandoned by all their country-men, except the Theſpians and Platæans, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance.

THE Theſſalians were the firſt who were to feel the weight of Xerxes and his Myriads. They therefore ſent to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, to beſeech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they ſubmitted to an enemy, whom they were not able to reſiſt. Upon this, ten thouſand men were ſent by ſea to Theſſaly, under the command of Evenetus a Spartan, and Themiſtocles the Athenian. But when they came there, they were convinced that this meaſure would prove ineffectual. For in a plain country, as Theſſaly is, there could be no hopes of oppoſing ſuch multitudes of men with a few; eſpecially, when it was known, that many of the Theſſalian princes could not be depended on; and that many of the paſſages into Theſſaly were in the power of Alexander king of Macedon. For theſe reaſons the army returned without doing any thing.

THE only thing that now remained, was to determine in what other place they ſhould give the Perſians a meeting, in order to diſpute their entrance into

Greece. After various propoſals and diſputes, it was reſolved at the next general Council, to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ. This was a narrow paſs, no more than five and-twenty feet wide, between the mountains which divide Theſſaly from Greece, and the only way through which the Perſians could enter Achaia, and advance by land to Athens. In purſuance of this reſolution four thouſand foot were appointed for that ſervice. The command of this ſmall body was given to our LEONIDAS, whoſe prudence and courage were in the higheſt eſtimation. Of theſe, three hundred only were Spartans, according to the direction of the king. And when ſome principal perſons demanded of him, whether he had not a ſecret deſign in his head, he anſwered frankly; "I pretend to defend the ſtreights of "Thermopylæ; but in truth I go to die for my "country." And when they ſtill wondered at the ſmall number of men that he took with him; He, turning to thoſe, to whom he had communicated his ſecret, ſaid, "There are enough, conſidering the de-"ſign we go upon." When he took his leave of his wife, ſhe aſked him, if he had nothing particular to ſay to her? "Marry ſome brave man, ſaid he, and "bring him brave children.

HE now marched with all poſſible expedition to his poſt, determined either to ſtop the innumerable army of Xerxes with that handful of men, or periſh in

in the attempt. Such was alſo the reſolution of the three hundred Spartans, who attended him, and had been all choſen by himſelf.

THE whole number of the land-forces of Xerxes, as taken on the review of them in the large plains of Doriſcus in Thrace, amounted to one million ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe. Beſides theſe, there were twenty thouſand who conducted the camels, and took care of the baggage. His fleet conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven large ſhips, and three thouſand gallies and tranſports. On board theſe were five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand, ſix hundred and ten men. The nations on this ſide the Helleſpont added to his land forces three hundred thouſand more; and two hundred and twenty ſhips to his fleet: on board which were twenty-and-four-thouſand men. So that the whole number of his forces by ſea and land, when he arrived at Thermopylæ, was two millions, ſix hundred and forty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ten men; without including ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, and other people of that ſort, who were computed to equal the number of forces.

To theſe ſtreights, made famous by this memorable event, Xerxes was now advancing; and was ſtrangely ſurprized to find that the Greeks were determined to diſpute his paſſage. For he had always

flattered himſelf, that on his approach they would betake themſelves to flight, and not attempt to oppoſe his innumerable forces with ſo ſmall a body. For their whole army conſiſted of no more than eleven thouſand and two hundred men; and of theſe four thouſand defended the paſs. So that they were far too few for a pitched field with ſuch unequal ſtrength; nor were the Perſians, tho' ſomewhat degenerated from what they were in the time of Cyrus, yet become that delicate and effeminate people, which Alexander found them afterwards.

When Xerxes approached the paſs, he ſent out a ſcout on horſeback to view their numbers, and to diſcover how they were encamped. The ſcout brought back word that the Lacedæmonians were ſome performing their military exerciſes, and others putting their hair in order. When the Perſian king enquired the meaning of this, Damaratus informed him, that it was their cuſtom to comb and put in order their hair, when they were to expoſe their lives to the greateſt danger.

Xerxes however, ſtill entertaining ſome hopes of their flight, waited four days without undertaking any thing, on purpoſe to give them time to retreat. During this ſpace he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain and corrupt Leonidas, promiſing to make him maſter of all Greece, if he would come over to his

his party. His offers being rejected with contempt and indignation by that public-ſpirited prince, the king ſent him orders by an herald to deliver up his arms. LEONIDAS in a ſtile, and with a ſpirit truly Laconic, anſwered, "Come thyſelf, and take them." Xerxes, at this anſwer, tranſported with rage, commanded the Medes and Ciſſians to "march a-"gainſt them, take them all alive, and bring them "in fetters to him." The Medes, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the brave Greeks, ſoon betook themſelves to flight, and ſhewed the king that the taſk enjoined was not ſo eaſy as he apprehended. In their room therefore, Hydarnes was ordered to advance with that body which was called *Immortal*, and which conſiſted of ten thouſand men. Theſe were all picked men, diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and merit. Yet when theſe came to cloſe with the Greeks, they ſucceeded no better than the Medes and Ciſſians, being obliged to retire with great ſlaughter.

THE next day, the Perſians, reflecting on the ſmall number of their enemies, and ſuppoſing ſo many of them to be wounded, that they could not poſſibly maintain a ſecond fight, reſolved to make another attempt. But with their mightieſt efforts they could not make the Greeks give way. On the contrary they were themſelves put to a ſhameful flight. The valour of the Greeks exerted itſelf on this occaſion, in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that Xerxes is ſaid

to

to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire deſtruction of his army.

THE Perſian monarch had now loſt all hopes of forcing his way through troops, that were determined to conquer or die; and was extremely perplexed and doubtful what meaſure he ſhould take in this poſture of his affairs. In this exigence, one Ephialtes, the ſon of Eurydemus, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret paſſage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. The king immediately ordered Hydarnes thither, with his ſelect body of ten thouſand, which had been filled up ſince their laſt defeat, according to cuſtom. Theſe marched all night, and arriving at break of day, poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous poſt. The Phocæans, who defended this poſt, being overpowered by the enemy's numbers, retired with precipitation to the very ſummit of the mountain, prepared to die there gallantly. But Hydarnes neglecting to purſue them, began to march down the mountain with all poſſible expedition, in order to attack thoſe who defended the ſtreights, in the rear.

LEONIDAS, being informed that they had marched round the mountain, and were advancing to fall upon his rear, reſolved not to wait their attack, but to go and find them out. But while he

was

was deliberating on this meaſure, looking on his Spartans, and obſerving ſome ſtriplings, who had ſcarce attained to the age of men, his heart relented. Calling them therefore to him, one by one, he pretended to ſend by each of them a billet to the Ephori. He would afterwards have done the ſame thing in favor of ſome perſons of extraordinary merit. But they, penetrating his deſign, refuſed to obey him, one of them anſwering, "Sir, I came to ſerve you "as a ſoldier, not as a courier." Another, "Let "us fight firſt, ſir, and then I will carry your ac- "count of the battle. However, being fully appriſed that it was impoſſible to bear up againſt the enemy, he obliged the reſt of his allies to retire, and kept with him only the Theſpians, amounting to ſeven hundred men, the Thebans who were four hundred, and his three hundred Spartans; the laſt being reſolved to a man to die with their leader, who, having been told by the oracle, that "either "Sparta ſhould be deſtroyed, or the king loſe his "life," determined without the leaſt heſitation, to ſacrifice himſelf for his country. The Thebans indeed remained with him ſore againſt their inclination, being detained by LEONIDAS as hoſtages: for they were ſuſpected to favour the Perſians. The Theſpians, with their leader Demophilus, could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon LEONIDAS and the Spartans. The Augur Megiſtias, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being preſ-

ſed

ſed by LEONIDAS to retire, ſent home his only ſon, but remained himſelf and died by LEONIDAS. Thoſe who ſtayed, did not feed themſelves with any hopes of conquering or eſcaping, but looked upon Thermopylæ as their graves. And when LEONIDAS exhorted them to take ſome nouriſhment, and ſaid, that they ſhould all ſup with Pluto, they with one accord ſet up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet.

XERXES, after pouring out a libation at the riſing of the ſun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been adviſed by the treacherous Ephialtes. Upon their approach, LEONIDAS advanced to the broadeſt part of the paſſage, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch undaunted courage and reſolution, that the Perſian officers were obliged to ſtand behind their reſpective diviſions, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, would, without that precaution, have turned their backs immediately. Great Numbers of the enemy, falling into the ſea, were drowned. Others were trampled under foot by their own men; and a great many were killed by the Greeks, who, knowing that they could not avoid death, on the arrival of thoſe who were advancing to fall upon their rear, exerted their utmoſt efforts.

In this action fell the great Leonidas; which Abrocomes and Hyperanthus, two of the brothers of Xerxes, obſerving, advanced with great reſolution to ſeize his body, and carry it in triumph to Xerxes. But the Lacedæmonians, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulſed the enemy four ſeveral times, killed both the brothers of Xerxes, with many other commanders of diſtinction, and reſcued the body of their beloved general out of the enemy's hands. But in the mean time, the army, that was conducted by Ephialtes, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narroweſt place of the paſſage, and drawing all together, the Thebans excepted, poſted themſelves on a riſing ground. In this place they made head againſt the Perſians, who poured in upon them on all ſides, 'till at length, not vanquiſhed, but oppreſſed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who eſcaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and a traitor to his country. Every one avoiding his company, gave him the ignominous nick-name of Ariſtodemus *the run-away*. But not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of Platæa, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner.

Some however inform us, according to Herodotus, that Eurytus and Ariſtodemus, both Spartans, being obliged by a violent diſtemper in their eyes, to retire to Alpeni, were there ſome time in ſuſpenſe

penſe whether they ſhould return to Sparta or to Thermopylæ, and there die with the reſt of their country-men. At laſt Eurytus, hearing that the Perſians had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his ſervant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almoſt loſt his ſight) where he was killed. But Ariſtodemus, wanting courage, ſtayed at Alpeni, and after the battle returned ſafe to Sparta.

Others ſay, that both Eurytus and Ariſtodemus had been diſpatched ſomewhere with orders from the army; and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpoſe to avoid the danger: whereas his companion arived in due time, and died in the field.

It is alſo ſaid, that another of the three hundred Spartans, by name Pantites, ſurvived this action and returned to Sparta. But not being able to bear the reproaches of his country-men, he laid violent hands on himſelf.

As for the Thebans, and their general Leontides, they were obliged to fight for ſome time againſt the Perſians in conjunction with the other Greeks. But they no ſooner ſaw the Perſians deſcending the hill to attack them in the rear; but they abandoned their allies, and approaching the

Perſians with their arms ſtretched out, told them, that they had been the firſt among the Greeks to preſent them with earth and water, and that they were come to Thermopylæ againſt their will, and were no way guilty of the loſs which they had ſuſtained. Thus the Thebans ſaved their lives; tho' it was but in part. For the enemy killed many of them, as they advanced to ſurrender themſelves. Many others were, by the command of Xerxes, branded with the royal mark as ſlaves; and among theſe was their general himſelf Leontides.

THOSE who ſignalized themſelves moſt, among the Theſpians and Lacedæmonians, were, of the former, Dithyrambus; of the latter, Alpheus and Maron, both ſons of Oriſiphantus. But LEONIDAS and Dieneces diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all. Dieneces was a Spartan, and is allowed to have behaved himſelf with a bravery ſurpaſſing all, the king excepted. When a Trachinian told him before the battle, that the army of the Barbarians was ſo numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the ſun, he anſwered, far from betraying the leaſt fear, that he was glad to hear it, becauſe he liked to fight in the ſhade.

XERXES, enraged at LEONIDAS to the laſt degree, for daring to oppoſe him, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, and his body to be put upon a croſs.

But this barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy, than to the diſhonor of that great Heroe.

SOME time after a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ, in honor of thoſe brave defenders of Greece, with two inſcriptions. The one was general, and related to all thoſe who died on this occaſion, importing that the Greeks of Peloponneſus, to the number only of four thouſand, made head againſt the Perſian army, conſiſting of three millions. The other related to the Spartans in particular, and was compoſed by the poet Simonides to this purport: "Go paſſenger, and acquaint "the Spartans, that we died here in obedience to "their juſt commands." At thoſe tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honor of the dead heroes, and public games were performed with great ſolemnity. In theſe none but the Lacedæmonians and Theſpians had any ſhare; to ſhew, that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of Thermopylæ.

THERE was yet a third inſcription relating to the Augur Megiſtias, which was expreſſed in theſe words: "Under this ſtone lies divine Megiſtias, "ſlain by the Medes: with an undaunted heart he "ſaw his fate approaching, and refuſed to live, "when the Spartans had reſolved to die."

XERXES

XERXES on this occaſion loſt twenty thouſand men; and being ſenſible that ſo great a loſs was capable of alarming and diſcouraging his friends, he cauſed all thoſe that were killed, except a thouſand whoſe bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceded on his march to Attica.

THE action at Thermopylæ is one of the moſt celebrated occurences in hiſtory; and deſerves a careful conſideration, that juſtice may be done to the character of LEONIDAS. It would be too hard for the heroe after having loſt his life gallantly by the ſword of the enemy, to fall a ſecond time under the imputation of raſhneſs and temerity. In the firſt place then, let us remark that LEONIDAS acted all along with great equality of mind, a philoſophic courage, and the true ſpirit of a patriot. He went in the common cauſe of Greece, to give a check to the Perſians at their firſt entrance; that thereby the numerous army of Xerxes might receive a taſte of the oppoſition it was to meet with; and the king, if he was not headſtrong and deaf to reprehenſion, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time, before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the ſtrength of Aſia waſted to no purpoſe.

SECONDLY, In fighting at Thermopylæ, LEONIDAS made uſe at firſt of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own ſituation, and that

of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narroweſt part of the paſſage, and, and when he retired from the field of battle, he diſpoſed his battalions in ſuch a manner, that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to harraſs them, ſo effectually that more were ſlain in the retreat than in the fight.

THIRDLY, If Ephialtes had not led the Perſians round the mountain, LEONIDAS would have carried his firſt point, that is, he would have conſtrained Xerxes to retire. But when the Augur Megiſtias, upon inſpecting the ſacrifices, declared that all the Grecians were threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence, that the enemy were actually paſſing the mountain, LEONIDAS put in practice his ſecond reſolution, which was, the devoting himſelf and his Spartans to death, for the ſafety of Greece in general, and of Sparta in particular.

THIS reſolution was founded upon two reaſons. The firſt was, that the ſtreights of Thermopylæ ought not abſolutely to be abandoned, but ſold to the enemy as dear as might be. The ſecond reſted it upon this oracle which the Lacedæmonians had received:

"Thy plains, O Sparta, Perſian rage ſhall feel;
"Thy ſons ſhall ſlaughter'd fall by foreign ſteel,

"Unleſs

" Unleſs a king of the Herculean race,
" In war, to ſave the reſt, ſhall death embrace."

THIS prompted LEONIDAS to receive that death, which he knew muſt ſome time or other fall to his ſhare, when it might avert evil from his country. It was to prevent an unneceſſary carnage, that LEONIDAS diſmiſſed the greateſt part of the allies, and retained with him only the Theſpians, Thebans, and his own Lacedæmonians. He then advanced without the narrow paſſage, becauſe he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might moſt effectually injure the enemy; and in that deſperate attack, he fell glorioufly.

CHAP. III.

Of ARTEMISIA.

THERE were anciently two Heroines of the name of ARTEMISIA; both queens of Caria, and both eminent for their wiſdom, chaſtity, intrepidity and military capacity. Hence they have been generally confounded by authors; tho' they were diſtant above an hundred years from each other in point of time; the one having lived in the time of Xerxes the Perſian monarch, the other in that of Alexander the Great, who made himſelf maſter of the Perſian empire. Of theſe in order.

ARTEMISIA, the daughter of Lygdamis of Halicarnaſſus, being left a widow, took upon herſelf the adminiſtration of the kingdom of Caria, during the minority of her infant ſon, and governed with the general applauſe of her ſubjects and neighbours. The dominions of her ſon had been dependant upon Perſia, ever ſince the time of Cyrus the Great. Xerxes was now at the head of that empire, and was meditating his enterprize againſt Greece. Frequent councils were held upon this ſubject, at all which

which ARTEMISIA was called upon to aſſiſt. On theſe occaſions, the uſual exceptions to her ſex were diſpenſed with. For ſhe was, if we may believe Herodotus, one of the wiſeſt counſellors that Xerxes had, and her judgment was principally depended upon.

WHEN the expedition againſt Greece was really undertaken, ſhe joined the Perſian fleet with five ſail of her own ſhips, the beſt equipped of any in the fleet, except thoſe of the Sidonians. After the ſea-fight of Artemiſium, wherein the ſucceſs was pretty equal on both ſides, the Grecian fleet had been reinforced from ſeveral parts to the number of three hundred ſail, and rode then in the ſtreights of Salamis. Here the Perſians could not, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ſea, extend their line beyond that of the Greeks, and conſequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers.

THE Perſians had loſt above four hundred ſhips in a ſtorm before the laſt engagement, and had received no ſmall damage from the enemy. They held a council of war therefore, in order to determine whether they ſhould hazard another naval encounter, or not. All the commanders were for it, becauſe they knew this advice to be moſt agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen ARTEMISIA

was

was the only perſon that oppoſed this reſolution. This princeſs diſtinguiſhed herſelf on all occaſions, by her ſingular courage, and ſtill more by her prudence and conduct. For our author obſerves, that there was not one who gave Xerxes ſo good advice as this heroine. She repreſented in the council of war the dangerous conſequences of engaging a people by ſea, who were far more expert in maritime affairs than the Perſians. She alledged that "the loſs "of a battle at ſea would probably be attended with "the ruin of their army: whereas, by ſpinning out "the war, and advancing into the heart of Greece, "they would create jealouſies and diviſions among "their enemies, who would ſeparate from one "another, in order to defend their reſpective coun-"tries; and that the king might thus, almoſt with-"out ſtriking a blow, make himſelf maſter of "Greece."

THIS advice tho' very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimouſly reſolved upon. Xerxes, in order to encourage his men with his preſence, cauſed a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might ſafely behold whatever happened, having ſeveral ſcribes about him, to write down the names of ſuch as ſhould ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemy.

The approach of the Perſian fleet, with the news that a ſtrong detatchment from the army was marching againſt Cleombrotus, who defended the Iſthmus, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Peloponneſians, that they could not, by any entreaties, be prevailed upon to ſtay any longer at Salamis. Being therefore determined to put to ſea, and ſail for the Iſthmus; Themiſtocles, who commanded the Athenian ſhips, privately diſpatched a truſty friend to the Perſian officers, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their fleet round the iſland, in order to prevent their eſcape. The ſame meſſenger informed Xerxes, that Themiſtocles, who had ſent him that advice, deſigned to join the Perſians, as ſoon as the battle ſhould begin, with all the Athenian ſhips. Thus the king became the dupe of Grecian cunning: for, giving credit to all this, he immediately cauſed a ſtrong ſquadron to ſail round the iſland in the night, in order to cut off the enemy's flight. Thus, by dividing it, he much weakened his own fleet; and ſecured the whole ſtrength of the Peloponneſians to the Greeks, which had otherwiſe been abſent. For early the next morning, as the Peloponneſians were preparing to ſet ſail, they found themſelves encompaſſed on all ſides by the Perſian fleet, and were againſt their will obliged to remain in the ſtreights of Salamis, and expoſe themſelves to the ſame danger with their allies. Themiſtocles avoided the engagement, 'till a certain wind, which roſe regularly

regularly every day at the ſame time, and was contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As ſoon as he found himſelf favoured by this wind, he gave the ſignal for battle.

THE Perſians knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great reſolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and being embaraſſed with the largeneſs and the number of their ſhips, in a place ſo ſtreight and narrow, and of conſequence ſo inconvenient for the great multitude which they had of them, their courage ſoon abated. The Greeks obſerved this with pleaſure, and uſed their efforts ſo effectually, that in a ſhort time, breaking into the Perſian fleet, they entirely diſordered them. Some of thoſe that fled, made towards Phalerus, where their land army lay encamped. Others ſailed at random, and ſaved themſelves as well as they could in the harbours of the neighbouring iſlands. The Ionians were the firſt that betook themſelves to flight. Whether it was, that tho' under the dominion of Perſia themſelves, they were willing to favour the cauſe of their kindred Greeks, or that they were ſtruck with a pannic upon this important occaſion, is not clear: but the former ſurmize is moſt probable; becauſe they had hitherto been remarkable for their ſkill in maritime affairs, and their addreſs in naval engagements.

BUT in this action ARTEMISIA diſtinguiſhed herſelf far beyond all the reſt that were concerned in it. Tho' preſſed on all ſides, ſhe fought with ſuch maſculine conduct and courage, as would have done honor to the greateſt warriors. She continued her reſiſtance 'till the whole fleet was retiring, and was herſelf the laſt that fled. Inſomuch that the Perſian monarch, in high admiration of her extraordinary behaviour, cried out that "the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men." For, as the epitomizer of Trogus obſerves, as the men were poſſeſſed with a womanly fear, ſo in this woman you might have ſeen a manly ſpirit.

THE Athenians, who, being brave themſelves, ought to have admired that Virtue in others, and in a woman more eſpecially, were on the contrary ſo incenſed againſt her, that they offered a reward of ten thouſand drachmas to any one that ſhould take her alive. But neither the perſonal animoſity of her enemies, nor the temptation of ſo great a reward availed any thing. She ſtill defended herſelf gallantly, and got clear of all the ſhips that purſued her.

As the iſſue of the invaſion had proved ſo unfavorable, ſhe now adviſed Xerxes by all means to abandon Greece in order to his return to Aſia; which

which advice he judged neceſſary to comply with. While this was carried into execution, the young princes of Perſia were committed to her care. And of this important truſt ſhe acquitted herſelf with great fidelity and honor, and arrived ſafe with them on the coaſt of Aſia.

ALL theſe great qualities of ARTEMISIA could not ſecure her from the weakneſs of love. The object of her paſſion was one Dardanus of Abydos, who ſlighted all the advances that were made to him. Here her prudence forſook her. She loved him to diſtraction, and was ſo enraged at his inſenſibility, that ſhe is ſaid in the height of her phrenzy to have put out his eyes while he was aſleep. But the violence of her love ſtill continuing and uſurping all her faculties, ſhe determined to try the laſt remedy of deſpairing lovers, by a leap from the promontory of Leucadia, as SAPPHO had done before her; and, like her, periſhed in the experiment.

THE ſecond ARTEMISIA was the eldeſt daughter of Hecatomnus king of Caria; and, according to the faſhion of the Perſians, was married to her eldeſt brother Mauſolus, who ſucceeded his father upon the throne of that kingdom. She is celebrated by all the ancients as the brighteſt pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, that had been heard of.

At length Mauſolus dying left her without iſſue, after having firſt appointed her to ſuccede to the crown. But no acceſſion of power could alleviate her ſorrows for the loſs of her huſband. They were carried to ſuch an uncommon exceſs, that after the celebration of his obſequies and the burning of his body, according to the cuſtom of that time, inſtead of incloſing his aſhes in an urn, as was uſual, ſhe had them mixed with ſpices and drank them up; ſo becoming herſelf (as our author has it) the living and breathing ſepulchre of her huſband. Yet to his memory ſhe erected ſuch a monument of marble, as was juſtly eſteemed one of the wonders of the world.

THIS magnificent pile was the work of four of the moſt eminent artiſts of that age. It was nearly ſquare and four hundred and eleven feet in circuit; and was ſurrounded with thirty-ſix columns. The eaſtern end was engraven and finiſhed by Scopas, the weſtern by Leochares, the ſouthern by Timotheus, and the northern by Bryaxis. She died before it was entirely finiſhed, yet the artiſts carried on the work for their own glory. On the top and from the centre of the work, roſe a grand pyramid, and on the ſummit of this, a noble chariot with four horſes, of marble, the workmanſhip of the famous Pythis. This elevated the whole fabric to the height of an hundred and forty feet.

HERE, by the queen's appointment, orations in honor of the dead were annually ſpoken by the moſt learned and eloquent perſons that could be procured for that ſervice.

YET all this while ARTEMISIA was not ſo diſconſolate as to neglect the affairs of her kingdom. Mauſolus had aſſiſted the iſlanders of Cos and Rhodes in throwing off the Athenian yoke, and had declared for an ariſtocracy. By theſe means he became gradually the abſolute maſter of both iſlands; the nobility not daring, as being hated by the people, to oppoſe him. But after the deceaſe of Mauſolus, the nobility and people uniting, drove out the Carian garriſons, and recovered their ancient liberties.

HAVING thus cleared their reſpective iſlands of foreign forces, to revenge the injuries which they pretended to have ſuffered, the Rhodians now fitted out a fleet and invaded Caria, with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of that country, which lay very convenient for them.

ARTEMISIA, being acquainted with their deſign, ordered the inhabitants of Halicarnaſſus, where in all probability they would land, to keep within the walls, and when the enemy arrived, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands, their readineſs to ſurrender. The inhabitants punctually followed her directions

directions. Hereupon the Rhodians, not ſuſpecting any treachery, left their fleet without a ſufficient guard, and entered the city. In the mean time ARTEMISIA came with her gallies out of the little port through a ſmall canal which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, and ſeizing the enemy's fleet without reſiſtance, immediately ſet ſail with it for Rhodes.

THE Rhodians, who had entered the city of Halicarnaſſus, having now no means to make their eſcape, were all cut in pieces. But before this melancholy news could reach Rhodes, ARTEMISIA had gotten poſſeſſion of that city. When the inhabitants of it ſaw their veſſels approach in a triumphant manner, being adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the harbour with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but that they had taken Halicarnaſſus.

IN the midſt of this tumultuous joy, ARTEMISIA landed her troops in haſte, fell upon the armed multitudes and diſperſed them. She then poſſeſſed herſelf of the city, and put the pricipal citizens, who had promoted the Carian expedition, to death. Being now miſtreſs of the metropolis, ſhe cauſed a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two ſtatues of braſs. One of theſe repreſented the city of Rhodes, and the other ARTEMISIA branding it with an hot iron.

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THE Rhodians afterwards ſurrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being ſeen. For religion forbad them to demoliſh any monument, which had been once conſecrated.

FROM this, and what we read in the oration of Demoſthenes, concerning *the liberty of the Rhodians*, it appears that ARTEMISIA did not, like a forlorn and inconſolable widow, paſs her whole time in grief and lamentation. Mr. Bayle indeed ſuſpects that whatever has been reported of her exceſſive grief, is without any foundation; having been advanced by ſome, and perhaps believed, on account of the magnificent monument erected by her to the memory of her huſband, But this is carrying a private opinion much too far. For Cicero, as well as Suidas, records, that ſhe lived in continual grief, and was at length worne out by it; having pined herſelf into a languiſhing conſumption, of which ſhe died.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of PERICLES.

PERICLES was the ſon of Xanthippus, the famous Athenian captain who won the battle of Mycale, by Agariſte the niece of the celebrated Clyſthenes, who had ſo great a ſhare in expelling the family of Piſiſtratus. He had for his inſtructors the moſt able perſons of the time in which he lived. Amongſt theſe were Zeno, Eleates, Damon, Anaxagoras, and afterwards the celebrated ASPASIA. From Damon particularly he imbibed his firſt politics, and from Anaxagoras his ſkill in natural phyloſophy, and the art of ſpeaking. He was maſter of prodigious talents, and, above all, of an eloquence ſuperior to that of any of his contemporaries. But Pericles was obliged to conceal theſe ſhining qualifications, by his knowledge of the diſpoſition of his countrymen. For the Athenians had taken it into their heads that he reſembled Piſiſtratus very much in the face, and more in his eloquence. His language and manner of addreſſing the people was indeed ſo nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the ſurname of Olympus.

NOTWITHSTANDING therefore that PERICLES was of a great family, had a good eſtate and many relations, who filled the firſt poſts of the commonwealth; yet he not only declined ſtanding for public employments, but even ſpeaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himſelf the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when Ariſtides was dead, Themiſtocles in baniſhment, and Cimon, generally ſpeaking, employed in foreign affairs, PERICLES began to apply himſelf ſtrictly to public buſineſs, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of Athens had acted; for inſtead of courting the wealthy and the powerful, he applied himſelf wholly to the lower ſort of people, notwithſtanding it was contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which by no means inclined him to a plauſible inſinuating behaviour. The reaſon of this was, that there appeared no other method by which he could poſſibly attain to that eminence and ſuperiority which he affected.

CIMON, by the greatneſs of his birth, the luſtre of his actions, and the largeneſs of his eſtate, had placed himſelf at the head of the nobility, and was by them conſidered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generoſity and condeſcenſion. The multitude therefore were the ſole reſource of PERICLES, who, as he was a great and deep politician, yet well foreſaw the dangers

dangers that he must be exposed to in consequence of making his court to them.

To avoid these therefore, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary. He left off all company. He neither received nor paid visits. And but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the Prytaneum or assembly. He preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, gestures, and his speech, and always before he delivered an oration, prayed that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people.

With all these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as Cimon, to whom, tho' equal in will, yet in fortune he fell short. But this difficulty he at length overcame, by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done before and since, by obliging the people at their own expence. For he encreased the salaries given to such of the Athenian citizens as sate in courts of justice, as he did the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at the assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in the theatres.

Inasmuch as Pericles never pretended to any of the great offices of the common-wealth, he could

could not of conſequence be choſen a member of the court of Areopagus. Hence it came to paſs, that he diſtaſted the authority of that council; becauſe he knew that they could not be well pleaſed with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general aſſembly; where by dint of his eloquence, being (as Plato in Phædrus calls him) the moſt perfect of all orators, he governed all. Yet fearing to draw upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of that council, which was the moſt venerable amongſt the Athenians, he encouraged Ephialtes, his intimate friend, to ſtir up the people againſt the Areopagites, and to perſuade them that this tribunal was the greateſt curb upon them, and the only bar to that extenſive liberty, which their friends wiſhed to put into the hands of the commons of Athens. And thus with admirable policy he laid the foundation of his own authority in the greatneſs of the people.

While things were in this ſituation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the deſtruction of Cimon. This great man had commanded, in conjunction with Ariſtides, the Athenian forces, when they joined the Lacedæmonians by ſea under Pauſanias. He was afterwards admiral of the fleet which they fitted out for the relief of ſuch of the Grecian cities in Aſia, as were under ſubjection to the great king. In that expedition he had taken the city of Eion and ſettled colonies in

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that neighbourhood, had revenged the Greeks upon the Thracians, reduced the iſland of Scyros, and brought home the bones of Theſeus. In his next voyage he had performed great things on the coaſt of Caria, ſailing afterwards for Cyprus, where he was informed the Perſian fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river Eurymedon; their land army being encamped not far off. Here he attacked firſt their fleet, and then their army, and in one day gained two important victories, and brought home an immenſe booty. After this, with no more than four ſhips he defeated the barbarian fleet, and took thirteen of their galleys, reducing the whole Cherſoneſus under the Athenian power. He next took poſſeſſion of the gold mines of Thrace: then ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians againſt their Helotes, and rerurned with great honor.

SUCH had been the ſervices of Cimon. He had an openneſs of temper which diſdained deception, and the moſt inflexible honeſty. His only foibles were, an unbounded magnificence and the love of women. He demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed. He kept an open table, where the pooreſt Athenians found ſuſtenance, and the rich delicacies. When he went abroad, he was conſtantly attended by a train of young

young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, and whoſe pockets were well furniſhed with money. If by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change cloaths with him; or, if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs unſuitable, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed perſon privately. Thus he gained riches, that he might uſe them; and uſed them ſo as to gain credit. Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular. On the contrary, he always ſided with the nobility, and openly oppoſed all ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people by putting all things into their power. Such was the character of Cimon, which wanted no ornament, yet was gilded with rare ſucceſſes. This was the perſon whoſe ruin was now meditated.

A proſecution was commenced againſt him for treaſon againſt the ſtate. This treaſon was pretended to conſiſt in receiving preſents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed upon to let ſlip the manifeſt opportunity which he had of enlarging his conqueſts, after he had taken from the Perſians the gold mines of Thrace.

CIMON made a defence ſuitable to his character. He ſaid that "he had proſecuted to the utmoſt of his

"power

"power the war againſt the Thracians, and other "enemies to the ſtate of Athens. But that it was "true, he had not made any inroads into Mace-"donia; becauſe he did not conceive that he was "to act as a public enemy to mankind; and be-"cauſe he was ſtruck with reſpect for a nation mo-"deſt in their carriage, juſt in their dealings, and "ſtrictly honorable in their behaviour towards him "and the Athenians. That, if his countrymen "looked upon this as a crime, he muſt abide their "judgement; but could never be brought to think "that his conduct was amiſs."

ELPINICE, his ſiſter, engaged herſelf warmly in his behalf, ſoliciting all ſuch as ſhe thought might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice, or be of ſervice to her brother. Amongſt the reſt ſhe addreſſed herſelf to PERICLES, who was one of the perſons appointed by the people to accuſe Cimon at his trial. PERICLES heard all that ſhe had to ſay patiently, and then anſwered with a ſmile, "You are a little too old, madam, to "be employed in ſuch affairs as theſe." PERICLES was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expreſſion to take off all ſuſpicion that Elpinice had made any impreſſion upon him. For it was obſerved that when the trial came on, PERICLES ſpoke but once, and then not only treated Cimon with reſpect, but touched the buſineſs of

which

which he was accuſed ſo lightly, that he ſeemed to have no opinion of his guilt. When he had done ſpeaking, he withdrew. The conſequence of this was, that Cimon eſcaped capital puniſhment, tho' he was baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm; which cured his rival of envy, and took away all apprehenſions from the people.

The Athenians now gained ſeveral advantages over the Corinthians, Epidaurians, and the inhabitants of Ægina, who had aſſiſted their enemies. This made the ſtates of Peloponneſus jealous of their growing greatneſs. They attacked the Megarians therefore, who were the allies of Athens. But this attempt to check the Athenian power ſerved only to encreaſe it.

The Lacedæmonians had lately aſſiſted the Dorians againſt the Phocians; and the Athenians, elate with their ſucceſſes, laid hold of this opportunity to revenge the inſults, which they apprehended themſelves to have received from the Spartans. They drew the Argives and Theſſalians into their deſign, and fitting out a fleet of fifty ſail, landed fourteen thouſand men at the Iſthmus, and took poſſeſſion of the paſſages: ſo that the Spartan army, which had marched againſt the Phocians, could not return home without fighting.

NICOMEDES was at the head of the Spartan army, which consisted of eleven thousand five hundred men. When both sides were preparing for action, Cimon presented himself to the Athenians, completely armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. But, being rejected by the opposite party, he retired; after having left his armour amongst his friends, who fought with it in midst of them, and plainly evidenced their love to their country, by laying down their lives around it. For, the Thessalian horse deserting them, the Athenians were routed with very great loss. The next encounter proved a drawn battle, and was succeded by a short truce.

THE Thebans, who had assisted Xerxes, were now restored by the Lacedæmonians to the government of Bæotia, which they had forfeited by their revolt from the common cause. The Athenians took umbrage at this, and sent an army into Bæotia under the command of Myronides, who gained a glorious and complete victory over the Thebans and their allies, who were greatly superior in number. He then razed Tanagra; plundered all Bæotia; fell upon the Locrians; chastised the Thessalians for their treachery, and returned home laden with riches and honor.

THE next year Tolmides, the Athenian admiral, ventured with four thouſand men to inſult the coaſts of Laconia itſelf. He took Methon, but was forced to quit it. However, he burned Gythium, another ſea-port, with all the ſhipping and naval ſtores, and waſted all the country in its neighbourhood; he reduced Zacynthus; took Naupactus by compoſition, and ſettled there a colony of Meſſenians, concluding the expedition with much honor to his principals.

ON the return of Tolmides, PERICLES was inſtantly ordered to invade Peloponneſus. This he did effectually, burning, ſpoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; tho' he had with him no more than a thouſand men. But the fame of the Athenians half diſcomfited their enemies, and the reputation of PERICLES almoſt took away the power of reſiſtance.

ON his return to Athens, he found the people not a little out of humour, becauſe Cimon remained ſtill in baniſhment. The death of his friends in the former battle with the Spartans, had fully purged this great man of that diſaffection to his country, under the pretence of which he had been baniſhed. We are not therefore to wonder that all Athens looked upon it as an act of juſtice to re-call him. PERICLES, conceiving well what would be the conſequence of their compaſſion, immediately took the thing

thing upon himſelf, and drew up an act for his reſtoration. Cimon took this ſo kindly, that he never thwarted him after his return.

THE writers of ſcandal among the ancients (and there were many ſuch at this time) have handed it down to poſterity, that this reconciliation between PERICLES and Cimon was brought about by Elpinice, who ſtipulated for her brother, that he ſhould be content with commanding abroad, and allow PERICLES to lead the adminſtration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country. For he not only concluded a peace between Athens and Sparta, generouſly preſerving the Greeks from falling upon each other; but by aſſiſting the Egyptians, invading Cyprus, and defeating the Perſians and their allies by ſea and land, reduced the great king to ſue for peace. During the treaty, which ended very glorioufly for the Greeks, Cimon died; but whether of ſickneſs, or a wound, which he had received, is uncertain.

THE affairs of Athens began to be ſuddenly and ſorely diſturbed after the death of Cimon. For, being alike hated by their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a handle for new revolts or invaſions. The Megarians were the firſt in this buſineſs. Their little ſtate, which lay in

a corner of Attica, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion of Athens, and had brought them into ſeveral quarrels with their neighbours. But now thoſe of Megara, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the Athenians, or elſe conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment which they received, diſclaimed all dependence upon Athens, and entered into a ſtrict league with her conſtant and avowed enemies, the Lacedæmonians.

THE Athenians, as ſoon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the Megarians in their city. The Lacedæmonians quickly reſented this proceeding, and hearing that PERICLES was employed another way, made a great irruption into Attica, and did abundance of miſchief. Upon this, PERICLES, who had marched againſt Eubœa, was recalled in haſte to defend his country.

UPON his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the Lacedæmonian army; but, conſidering that it was led by a very young man, Pliſtonax, the king of Sparta, who had with him one Candrides for a tutor, he ſent the latter a conſiderable ſum of money, and thereby procured the return of the Lacedæmonian army without blows.

WHEN

When Pericles came to make up his accompts, he thought fit to charge ten talents laid out in a fit manner upon a proper occaſion. The Athenians at another time would not have endured ſuch an article in a public accompt; but Pericles had gained ſuch an aſcendency over them, and they were ſo throughly ſenſible how this money had been applied, that they paſſed his accompts without a word, and ordered him to proſecute the expedition againſt Eubœa, in which he had been before employed.

While Pericles was at home in the winter, Tolmides, who had done ſuch great things for the Athenians, reſolved to make an expedition into Bœotia with a ſmall body of troops, and in a very advanced ſeaſon of the year. A great number of the braveſt Athenians readily engaged to ſerve under this famous general, as volunteers: yet Pericles was conſtantly againſt it. He preſſed Tolmidas to wait a little, and to join prudence with bravery in his conduct. But he ſeemed to take this amiſs, and not greatly to reliſh another's intermeddling with his affairs. Pericles therefore told him calmly, "If you will not liſten to my advice, "yet certainly it will not be amiſs to wait time's "leizure a little, who, let me tell you, ſir, is the "wiſeſt of all counſellors." This ſaying, which was preſently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly

beneficial to PERICLES. For Tolmides, after doing great things in Bæotia, was attacked by the confederate army, compoſed of the quotas furniſhed by all the little ſtates of that country, and entirely defeated at Cheronea.

THIS defeat terribly humbled the Athenians. For, in order to redeem their priſoners, they were conſtrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of Bæotia; and, while this was doing, many other little ſtates declared againſt the Athenians.

PERICLES, notwithſtanding all theſe checks, marched with an army into Eubœa, from which place a new revolt of the Megarians cauſed him again to be recalled. But, within a ſhort time after he re-entered that iſland, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Heſtiéa. From this city he ejected the inhabitants, that he might hereby terrify the reſt of the country; and placed in it a colony of Athenians in their ſtead.

A ſhort time after, the reſt of Eubœa ſubmitted. And now the Lacedæmonians judged it no longer for their intereſt to carry on the war. A negotiation was therefore ſet on foot; in the concluſion of which a peace was effected for thirty years. In this treaty Callais and Chares were plenipotentiaries for the Athenians.

ABOUT

ABOUT this time Pſammetycus, king of Egypt ſent by way of preſent to the Athenian people forty thouſand buſhels of wheat. This preſent proved a great misfortune to the city; for PERICLES had preferred a law, whereby Athenians of the half-blood were disfranchiſed. And this law, on account of the diviſion of the corn above-mentioned, was proſecuted with ſuch ſeverity that no fewer than five thouſand people, who 'till then had been conſidered as freemen, were ſold as ſlaves. This, which was the moſt exceptionable part of the political character of PERICLES, ſeems to have been puniſhed afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all PERICLES' children of the whole blood. After which misfortune, he found himſelf obliged to intreat the Athenians to cancel this law, out of pity to himſelf, its author.

SIX years after the concluſion of the peace between Athens and Sparta, a war broke out between the Samians and Mileſians, about the city of Priene, which was in the neighbourhood of Miletus, and which the Mileſians were therefore deſirous of poſſeſſing. But the latter, being over-powered by their enemies, applied to the Athenians for aſſiſtance. In this application, they made heavy complaints againſt the Samians. In theſe they were alſo joined by ſome Samian malecontents, who were deſirous of having the government at home changed, and a democracy

mocracy ſettled. According to the moſt excellent and impartial Thucydides, this was the whole ground of the war, which enſued between the Athenians and Samians.

A fleet of forty ſail was fitted out, and the command of the expedition given to PERICLES. He ſoon brought the Samians into ſubjection, and began to change all things according to his will. And firſt he directed that the government ſhould be democratical for the future, and that fifty hoſtages, conſiſting of the principal perſons, with as many children, ſhould be delivered to him. All imaginable methods were tried to ſoften him on this occaſion. The hoſtages offered him a talent a head by way of ranſom. Thoſe, who diſliked the democracy propoſed to ſupply him with a large ſum, if he would leave the government as he found it. And Piſſunthes, the governor of Sardis for the Perſian king, thinking an Ariſtocratic government in Samos more advantageous to his maſter, would have given ten thouſand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the Athenians. But PERICLES, without the leaſt reſpect to money, carried away the hoſtages to Lemnos, and eſtabliſhed the democracy in Samos, as he had been directed by his principals to do. But as governments founded in force, are rarely of long duration, the Samians fell into mighty diſſenſions as ſoon as PERICLES was gone from them.

them. Some of them who had retired to Piſſunthes, having procured from him an aid of ſeven hundred men, returned with this ſtrength into their own country, and, their own faction opening the gates to them, expelled the oppoſite party and the Athenian garriſon. They procured alſo their hoſtages to be privately ſent away from Lemnos, and having drawn the Byzantines to their party, declared themſelves open enemies to Athens. But that city, unuſed to bear inſults, immediately fitted out ſixty galleys, and ſent them under PERICLES to ſubdue the Samians a ſecond time.

WHEN PERICLES was at ſea with his fleet, he found it neceſſary to detatch ſixteen ſhips, as well to gain intelligence of the Phenician fleet, as to haſten the auxiliary ſquadrons which he expected from Chios and Leſbos. With his forty and four remaining veſſels, he engaged the Samians and their allies, altho' their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, and beat them. Being afterwards ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of forty ſhips from Athens, and twenty-five from Chios and Leſbos, he beſieged Samos by ſea and land. Receiving intelligence that the Phenician fleet was coming to its relief, he ſailed to meet it with ſixty ſhips.

BUT during the interval of his abſence, the beſieged fell upon the remainder of the Athenian ſhips under

under the command of Pefagoras, and defeated them. The Samians after this fuccefs, remained maſters of the ſea for fourteen days together; and in this ſpace of time furniſhed themſelves with whatever they wanted.

PLUTARCH cenſures the conduct of PERICLES on this occaſion, and imputes the loſs, which the Athenians ſuſtained, to his leaving the ſiege. But there ſeems to be little reaſon for this. For it was certainly prudent in PERICLES to fight the Phenicians at ſea, rather than in the neighbourhood of Samos.

ON his return to the ſiege, having received a farther re-inforcement of fourſcore ſhips, he ſtraitened the Samians more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept ſeven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refreſh themſelves. At length, after nine months ſiege, the Samians ſurrendered. Upon this, PERICLES demoliſhed their walls, ſeized their ſhips, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war; part of which he obliged them to lay down, and took hoſtages for the remainder.

WHEN PERICLES returned from the war, he procured himſelf to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of ſuch as fell in the

the war. This he did with ſuch eloquence, that when he came down from the Roſtrum, or place where ſuch public declamations were delivered, the women gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands.

AMONGST the reſt, on this occaſion, Elpinice drew near him, but not with the ſame intention as the reſt. For ſhe addreſſed him in theſe words, "Theſe are brave things, PERICLES, that you have "done, and ſuch certainly as deſerve theſe wreaths "of glory, who have deprived us of ſo many worthy "citizens, not in a war againſt Phenicians or Medes, "the natural enemies of our country, ſuch as my "brother Cimon waged; but in the overthrow of a "city that was in alliance with us, whoſe people "ſpoke the ſame language, and were of our kindred." PERICLES gave a ſtrong inſtance of his great compoſure and readineſs of mind on this occaſion. For he repeated careleſsly the following verſes from the poet Archilochus,

"A dame, like you, in deep decline,
"Should not attempt by art to ſhine;
"You ſhould not powder thus your hair,
"Nor ſhould your unguents taint the air;
"Follies which ſuit the young and fair.

THESE

THESE paſſages ſhew, that as abſolute as PERICLES was become in Athens, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could and durſt diſtinguiſh between the ſervices done the ſtate by a war carried on with foreigners and one with Greeks. Tho' we muſt at the ſame time acknowledge the diſtinction to have been a little invidious, as meaning to reflect ſuperior praiſe on her brother. They ſhew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in PERICLES, who was not to be ruffled even by the ſhrewdeſt ſpeeches, but maintained always ſuch an equality of temper, as enabled him to make an anſwer ſuitable to the occaſion. It is on all hands confeſſed that PERICLES valued himſelf very much upon the reduction of Samos. And Thucydides gives us great reaſon to believe that the Athenians conceived highly of him for that exploit. For at the time that he reduced them, the Samians were one of the moſt flouriſhing nations in that part of the world, and bade fair for wreſting from the Athenians the dominion of the ſea.

PRESENTLY after this the Athenians entered into a defenſive alliance with the Corcyrians, which involved them in a war with Corinth and its allies. This was ſucceded by the revolt of Potidea. And while their affairs were in this condition abroad, the Athenians were very far from being quiet at home. PERICLES had attained ſuch a ſuperiority, as had never

never been ſeen in Athens ſince the days of Piſiſtratus. The laſt competitor with him for the favor of the people was Thucydides, a man noble of birth, and of ſuitable qualifications. He endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power to hinder thoſe alterations, which the popular party ſought to bring about, and more eſpecially oppoſed PERICLES. He therefore, perceiving that one of them muſt give way, put the matter to the teſt, by procuring an oſtraciſm, wherein it was found, upon counting the votes, that Thucydides was exiled by the people.

FROM this time forward PERICLES altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man. For he procured all things to be at his diſpoſal, and took the whole management of the Athenian affairs at home and abroad upon himſelf.

BUT when the ſtate of things began to have an inauſpicious appearance, and the Athenians to apprehend that in the war which they had now undertaken, they ſhould be obliged to contend, not for ſpoil, glory, or authority, but for their lands and houſes, and whatſoever elſe was dear to them; they grew out of humour with PERICLES, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them to ſay of him. For example, when Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, preferred a petition to the

people wherein he charged that excellent ſtatuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the ſtatue of Minerva; many reaſons induced thoſe who diſliked PERICLES, to abet this proſecution; among the reſt theſe two; *firſt* they conceived that they ſhould try the minds of the people by this ſtep, and diſcover whether they were at preſent diſpoſed to bear with the proſecution of PERICLES or not: *ſecondly*, they thought to revenge themſelves on the ſtatuary, for having inſerted a picture of PERICLES fighting with an Amazon in the ſhield of the goddeſs. But this buſineſs had an iſſue little expected by them. For Phidias, having declared, that by PERICLES's direction, the gold was ſo laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be juſt. However, Phidias either dyed in priſon or was baniſhed. Plutarch ſays, that he was poiſoned by the procurement of PERICLES' enemies, who afterwards ſought to charge it upon him.

THE enemies of PERICLES, having miſcarried in their firſt deſign, were yet determined to hunt him down, if poſſible, and to begin with his favourite inſtructors through whoſe ſides they imagined that he might be eaſier wounded. To this end Hermippus accuſed Aſpaſia of impiety or irreligion, alſo for being a procureſs to PERICLES, and as ſuch ſeducing

the

the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens. PERICLES took upon himſelf to be her advocate and pleaded her cauſe in perſon; but was ſo affected by this uſage, that in the midſt of his pleading, he let fall a ſhower of tears. This was the more remarkable, becauſe he had been never known to weep before. The ſuit ended in the ſhame of the accuſer; and Aſpaſia was acquitted by the judges.

DIOPITHES next preferred a decree to the people, which made it criminal not to inform the proper court of Aropagus againſt ſuch perſons as diſputed the religion of their country, or taught ſuch things, under colour of natural Philoſophy, in relation to the celeſtial bodies, as were inconſiſtent therewith. This was known to ſtrike at Anaxagoras, the preceptor of PERICLES, and even at PERICLES himſelf. The people however, paſſed the decree, and in conſequence thereof, Anaxagoras was judicially accuſed. PERICLES was afraid to truſt his eloquence with the defence of him, whoſe wiſdom was his only crime, and therefore wiſely ſent him out of Attica, but with this mark of reſpect that he attended him in perſon.

IT is not clearly expreſſed by Plutarch, on what account either Aſpaſia or Anaxagoras was accuſed of impiety. Yet it is not hard to conjecture, that perſons eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of

their parts, and for their great knowledge in natural philoſophy, ſhould be ſuſpected on account of their notions of religion, in a country where, even in Heſiod's time, they had no leſs than thirty thouſand gods, for whoſe honor their votaries were wonderfully zealous. Laertius reports from one Sotion, who wrote a book of the ſucceſſion of philoſophy, that Anaxagoras was accuſed by Cleon of impiety, for aſſerting the ſun to be a burning plate. The truth ſeems to be, that the whole tenor of Anaxagoras's philoſophy was, according to the religious notions of the Athenians, impious. For he taught that matter was compoſed of infinite ſimilar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were diſpoſed into form as we ſee them, by an infinite ſelf-moving mind. Whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the ſurname of Nous, *i. e.* the Mind. He lived after his baniſhment at Lampſacus, and was ſo little affected therewith, that when a perſon told him one day, "You are deprived of the Athenians:" He anſwered, "You are miſtaken, friend, the Athen-"ians are deprived of me." As to his notion of the ſun, he retained it to his death. What that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree that he thought it to have been a burning maſs, many times bigger than Peloponneſus, and that its revolution was occaſioned by the repulſe of the northern air. He held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the ſun, habitable, having

ing plains, hills and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her ſurface. He aſſerted likewiſe that the ſtars were earthy. And all theſe opinions claſhed with the religion of the Athenians.

PERICLES was in the leaſt pain about what was objected to his own particular conduct. For, being a very exact œconomiſt, he was able to ſhew, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune, and had now no more than what his father left him. This was the very baſis of his greatneſs, that he was univerſally known to be ſtrictly juſt to the public, above corruption, and through the innocence of his actions, with reſpect to pecuniary affairs, ſuperior to all the calumnies that could be raiſed againſt him. Therefore when Dracontides moved that PERICLES might bring in his accompts, and that the final deciſion of his cauſe ſhould be committed to judges, who ſhould write their ſuffrages on billets taken from the altars; he not only found means to diſengage himſelf from the ſnare, but made it eaſily redound to his honor.

THE little ſtates of Greece and the Corinthians had carried their complaints againſt Athens before the Lacedæmonians. And theſe laſt now ſent ambaſſadors to demand reparation, or to denounce war in caſe of refuſal. They demanded the expulſion of certain citizens; that the ſiege of Potidea ſhould

be raiſed; that the inhabitants of Ægina ſhould be left free; and that a decree made againſt the Megarians, whereby they were forbidden the ports and and markets of Athens on pain of death, ſhould be revoked, and the Grecian ſtates ſet at liberty, which were under the dominion of Athens.

PERICLES perſuaded the Athenians to reject theſe terms. Perhaps he thought that the din of war would diſſipate that cloud of accuſations, which his enemies were framing againſt him. This might be a concurring motive. But it is moſt probable that he adviſed and directed ſuch meaſures as he judged moſt ſuitable to the intereſt and dignity of the Athenian ſtate.

IN the oration which he ſpoke on this occaſion, he offers the following argument to the conſideration of the Athenians; that "Whatever the Lacedæ-"monians might pretend, as to the complaints of "the allies, the true ground of this reſentment was "the proſperity of the Athenian republic, which "they always hated, and now ſought an opportunity "of humbling: that it muſt be the fault of the "Athenians themſelves, if they ſucceeded in this "ſcheme; becauſe, for many reaſons, they were "better able to engage in a long and expenſive war "than the Peloponneſians: that therefore it ſhould "be propoſed as the moſt feaſible, and at the ſame "time

"time the moſt equitable ſatisfaction that could be "given, that they would reverſe their decree againſt "Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free "egreſs and regreſs, from and to their own city, "to the Athenians and their allies: that they would "leave all thoſe ſtates free, who were free at the "making of the laſt peace with Sparta, provided "that the Spartans would alſo leave all ſtates free, "who were under their dominion: and that future "diſputes ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration." In caſe theſe offers ſhould not be accepted, he adviſed them to hazard a war, telling them that they ought not to think that they ran ſuch hazard for a trifle, or retain a ſcruple in their minds, as it a ſmall matter moved them to it; becauſe on this ſmall matter depended their ſafety, and the reputation of their conſtancy and reſolution. Whereas if they yielded in this, the next demand of the Lacedæmonians would be of an higher nature. For, having once diſcovered that the Athenians might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude that they durſt deny them nothing. Whereas a ſtiff denial in this inſtance would teach them to treat Athens for the future on terms of equality. He enforced theſe reaſons by ſhewing that their anceſtors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all caſes preferred their glory to their eaſe, and their Liberty to their poſſeſſions.

At the ſame time he laid before the people an exact account of their circumſtances; putting them in mind that they had ſix thouſand talents in hand; that they were entitled to the ſubſidies paid by the confederate ſtates; that the ſtatues of the gods, the Perſian ſpoil, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immenſe ſums; that private men were arrived at vaſt fortunes; and that, conſidering their trade by ſea, they had a certain annual increaſe of wealth; that they had an army of twelve thouſand foot, and in their colonies and garriſons ſeventeen thouſand more; that their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, which might eaſily be encreaſed; whereas the Peloponneſians had none of theſe advantages.

Such were the cauſes of the Peloponneſian war, and ſuch the ſtate of Athens at the beginning of it. The minuteſt circumſtances of this war are known to us even in theſe far-diſtant times. This ſhews how far learning is preferable to power. Since now that all the ſtates of Greece have been for many ages ſubverted and deſtroyed, the reſpect due to the writings of Thucydides hath preſerved them, as the merit of Xenophon's hath alſo his continuation of Thucydides's his hiſtory, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions, which however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe been buried in oblivion.

THE war now broke out in earneſt, and involved all Greece in the common calamity, beſides ſome of the neighbouring nations. With the Spartans joined all the Peloponneſians, except the Argives and part of the Achæans; without Peloponneſus, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambrocotes, Leucadians and Anactorians. With the Athenians were the Chians, Leſbians, Platæans, Meſſenians, Acarnanians, Corcyrians, Zacynthians, Carians, Dorians, Thracians, moſt of the iſlands, and all the Cyclades, except Melus and Thera, with Eubœa, and Samos. The Lacedæmonians aſſembled their army at the Iſthmus, but Archidamus the Spartan king, who commanded in chief, diſpatched an herald to Athens, before he would enter Attica. This herald was ſent back without an anſwer; which put an end to all motions for peace. Immediately the Lacedæmonians reſolved to act offenſively, and the Athenians prepared to defend themſelves as well as they could.

AS PERICLES had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, ſo his wiſdom ſeems to have been the only reſource they had in it. He was aware that Archidamus, who was his friend, might forbid the plundering of his eſtates. He therefore gave immediate advice of his ſuſpicion to the people, and declared that in ſuch a caſe, he made a preſent of his lands to the public. He then adviſed

viſed, that without thinking how to defend their country-ſeats, they ſhould turn all their care to the city, be particularly active in fitting out their ſhips, and ſettle in themſelves a firm reſolution not to be intimidated with the firſt evils of war. The Athenians came readily into all that he propoſed, and appointed him, with nine more generals, to command all their forces. The Lacedæmonians themſelves aſſiſted his riſe; for, as their ambaſſadors continually attacked him, the Athenians apprehended thence that he, of all others muſt have the greateſt regard for their intereſt.

HOWEVER, when the Peloponneſian army advanced as far as Acharne, one of the largeſt boroughs in Attica, and at a very ſmall diſtance from Athens, the citizens began to grow diſcontented, and to clamour excedingly againſt PERICLES, for not ſo much as attempting to drive them away. In this however he ſhewed his judgement. For, that army conſiſting of no leſs than ſixty thouſand men, the Athenians were unable to ſet on foot any force capable of looking it in the face. Wherefore, when ſome hot men preſſed for an engagement, PERICLES very prudently obſerved, that, "Trees, when they "are lopped and cut, grow up again in a ſhort "time; but men once loſt cannot eaſily be recovered." By degrees the madneſs of the people grew ſtill more violent, ſo that he was perſecuted with libels of all

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ſorts. Even his own friends preſſed him earneſtly to alter his conduct, and to attempt ſomething for his own and his country's honor. But he remained firm and calm in the midſt of this ſtorm, purſued the plan which he had laid down, in ſpite of all the clamor raiſed againſt him, and gave an happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity.

He was not idle however all this time, but ſent a fleet of an hundred galleys with fourteen hundred land-forces on board, againſt the enemy. This fleet, being joined by fifty veſſels from Corcyra, coaſting the Peloponneſian ſhore, did infinite miſchief. So that its inhabitants had no reaſon to boaſt of their expedition into Attica; ſince they left their own country to feel thoſe miſeries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another Athenian fleet infeſted the Locrians; and becauſe Ægina had been a principal occaſion of the preſent war, when the fleet returned from Peloponneſus, it drove out all the inhabitants of that iſland, which was repeopled from Athens. They likewiſe reduced Cephalenia, and ſeveral towns in Acarnania and Leucas.

In the mean time Pericles refreſhed thoſe, who were ſhut up in the city, with diſtributions of public money, with a law for the diviſion of lands, and whatever elſe he could think of to amuſe and divert them.

them. And in the autumn, when the Peloponnesians were retired, he put himself at the head of a great army, entered the Megarian territory, and did all the mischief therein, which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this was, because the Lacedæmonians pretended to have made war on their account. Thus in the end of the first year, the Athenians made up accounts, as it were, with the Peloponnesians, and repaid them those mischiefs, insults and ravages, which they had committed in Attica in the beginning of it.

In the winter of this year, the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first dyed in the war. First, their bones were laid in a tent to be seen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come, in order to pay the last offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing cypress coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for such whose bodies had not been recovered, and could not conveniently have those honors paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentations. They were then interred in a public sepulchre in the Ceramicus, and after burial, a person appointed by the court of Areopagus, spoke a funeral oration to their honor. Pericles was the person appointed on this occasion. And how g'oriously he acquitted himself in this honorable em-

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ployment, may be ſeen both in Thucydides and the Menexenus of Plato. For both theſe Authors have given us the ſenſe of his oration, tho' they differ in the manner of expreſſion.

THE ſpring of the next year was doubly fatal to Athens. For a moſt deſtructive ſickneſs afflicted her at home; and the Peloponneſians under the command of Archidamus waſted all things abroad. But the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes, PERICLES retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuſe it into his country-men; tho' he held them to the obſervance of the ſame rule which he had preſcribed before, and would not ſuffer them to ſtir without the city, either to eſcape the plague, or to infeſt the enemy.

HE cauſed however a great fleet to be fitted out and drew together fifty veſſels of the allies of Athens, on board of which, and of an hundred Athenian galleys, he embarked three hundred horſe and four thouſand foot, with which he ſailed to Epidaurus. The Peloponneſians, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do; that is, they withdrew their troops out of Attica, after they had waſted it for forty days. Thus PERICLES gained his point by clearing the country of the enemy For he could not expect to do any great matter beſides, as the plague raged amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen.

On his return home, the fleet was ſent out again under the command of Agnon and Cleopompus againſt Chalcis and Potidea. But carrying the plague with them, they were able to do little; ſo that after a ſhort ſtay they returned, bringing back to Athens about fifteen hundred men out of four thouſand. The peſtilence and war had conſumed the reſt.

These evils drove the Athenians to madneſs and deſpair. In vain did Pericles make uſe of all his eloquence to appeaſe them. They ſent embaſſadors to Lacedæmon to deſire a peace, which the Spartans were too haughty to beſtow. After this fruitleſs negotiation, Pericles harangued the aſſembly afreſh, and with the utmoſt force of reaſon ſought to combat their apprehenſions and fears. When he had done ſpeaking, they confeſſed that he was in the right, in adviſing them to begin the war; yet, diſtracted with the evils of it, they diſmiſſed and fined him. Then, with an inconſtancy natural to the Athenians, in a ſhort time they recalled him, and veſted him with almoſt abſolute authority.

But the ſtorms in his family did not ſo eaſily blow over, as thoſe in the ſtate. His ſon Xantippus quitted his houſe, becauſe his father would not allow him more money than his eſtate would bear. But, to conceal the true cauſe, the profligate young man

man gave out that his father converſed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, Xantippus died of the plague. Shortly after him, PERICLES' ſiſter died: and after her, almoſt all his relations and friends; and laſt of all, his ſecond ſon Paralus. At his funeral PERICLES loſt his heroiſm quite. For, going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpſe, he burſt out into a loud fit of crying: after which, being conveyed home, he kept his houſe cloſely, and abandoned himſelf to melancholy.

IT was then that the Athenians invited him to accept of thoſe honors, which before they had ſtripped him of. At the perſuaſion of Alcibiades and others, who were his friends, he came abroad and ſhewed himſelf to the people. They received him with loud acclamations, and at his requeſt, cancelled that very ſevere law, which they had made at his motion, for baſtardizing all children of the half-blood. Hereupon he enrolled his ſon, whom he had by Aſpaſia, a freeman of Athens by the name of Pericles.

IN the ſecond year of the war nothing conſiderable was done, except that Potidea, which had held out from the very beginning of it, and in the ſiege of which the inhabitants had been driven to the eating of human fleſh, ſurrendered to the Athenians who

permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from Athens.

In the ſpring of the third year, Archidamus beſieged Platœa; but by the vigorous reſiſtance made, was compelled at laſt to turn the ſiege to a blockade. In Thrace and Acarnania the Athenians fought with variety of fortune; and under the command of Phormio, gained two ſmall victories at ſea.

But the great event of the year was the death of Pericles, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague; but in a manner different from any body elſe. For, whereas it hurried off others ſuddenly, it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an inſtance of this laſt obſervation, Plutarch ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm, which the women had hung round his neck, intimating that he muſt be very ſick indeed when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his very laſt moments, ſome of his friends, ſitting by his bed-ſide, and conceiving him to have loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life; when on a ſudden, he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, "I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me,

"which

"which were as much owing to fortune, as to any "thing elſe, and which have happened to others "alſo, and omitt that which has been peculiar to "me, and more to my reputation than all the reſt; "that never any of my fellow-citizens put on mourn-"ing on my account."

THUS PERICLES dyed as he had lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of Athens, as they were to the vulgar. And after his death it appeared that the ſame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation. Only it muſt be allowed that he gave way to the corruption of the people, that he might govern them; thus introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of the love of true glory.

HE was very learned, eſpecially in the uſeful ſciences. There is a ſtory related of him, tho' the time in which it happened is not very well fixed, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was, from the reſt of his countrymen. Juſt as he went on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much, that he knew not what to do. PERICLES perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, aſked him, "If that was

" terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it?" He anſwered, "No." " Why then," ſaid PERICLES, " What difference can you make between one dark-" neſs and the other, except that what ſhades the " ſun is bigger than my cloak." This brought the pilot and crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to Anaxagoras appears from this, and indeed from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life. Yet he is ſaid to have failed for a time in point of gratitude to this philoſopher, who was once in ſuch diſtreſs, that throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving himſelf to death. When PERICLES was told of this, he ran to him in all haſte, and bewailed his loſs, if he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a councellor. To this Anaxagoras, opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: " Thoſe, PE-" RICLES, who have need of a lamp, ſupply it " with oil." Whereupon PERICLES took him home, and he had no reaſon to complain afterwards. It was at his motion that the Athenians ſeized the treaſure of all Greece at Delos, and applied a good part of it to the adorning of their own city. When this was complained of as a breach of truſt, PERICLES thus defended it. " It was given (ſaid he) to " defend Greece from the Barbarians; which the " Athenians having done, they have a juſt title to " the money; for money is not theirs who give, but " theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the con-" ditions;

"ditions; and as the Athenians were always ready "to carry on the war, it was but juſt that ſomething "ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life "and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by "theſe public buildings."

THIS ſort of reaſoning drew over to his party the merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds. For ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them, and penſions from the public ſtock. Whence many writers of his own time complain, that, whereas other Athenians had made themſelves eminent, PERICLES had made himſelf a prince.

IN times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmers of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home. In a word, he made Athens the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Greek ſtates. He exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had fought to ſuppreſs. And in the midſt of all the Athenian greatneſs, when her commons were at the height of vanity and unruline's, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then only for a ſmall time, in diſgrace, was recalled preſently afterwards with honor by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his

authority

authority to his death. But in the midſt of this great fortune, his hands were clean. He did all things for Athens, and nothing for himſelf. For he left his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of VIRGINIA.

FOUR hundred and forty eight years before CHRIST, the Roman people, for the amendment of what ſtatues they had, and a ſupply of new ones, detached ſome perſons into Greece, to fetch from thence a copy of the beſt laws in uſe in that country. Upon their return, it was judged proper entirely to aboliſh the ancient form of government, and to elect ten men of conſular dignity, who ſhould be inveſted with a power as abſolute as that of their ſupreme magiſtrates had been at any time before; that ſo they might be enabled to enforce whatever laws they might think neceſſary to the well adminiſtration of the common-wealth. This power was at firſt given for one year only; and afterwards continued for a ſecond, at the end of which term they reſolved to perpetuate themſelves.

AT the head of theſe Decemvirs was Appius Claudius; and it was by his advice and inſtigation that they acted in this arbitrary manner. They began

began to reign imperiously, and with despotic power; were always surrounded, not only by their numerous train of lictors, but also by a crowd of desperate men, loaden with debts, and guilty of the blackest crimes. No man's life or property was any longer safe. All who gave the least umbrage, were proscribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring voluntarily from their own country, took refuge among the neighbouring nations.

In the mean time an unexpected invasion of the Sabines and the Æqui greatly alarmed these new tyrants, and obliged them to assemble the senate, in order to obtain a decree for legal levies. Many of these senators on this occasion reproved their usurpation, and complained of their pride and insolence, with great constancy and resolution; particularly Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Marcus Horatius Barbatus.

However, the levying of troops was at last carried by a majority, and the authority of the Decemvirs seemed by this act to be established. They raised ten legions; three of which were sent against the Sabines, and five against the Æqui. The other two legions were detained in the city, to keep the domestic enemy in awe, more terrible to them than the foreign foe.

THINGS were in this ſituation, when Appius Claudius, one day going to his tribunal, obſerved a young virgin of extraordinary beauty; and, tho' he ſeemed dead to all the ſoft paſſions, yet was he taken with her charms. It was then cuſtomary at Rome for young Perſons of both ſexes to purſue ſuch ſtudies, as were proper for them in public ſchools erected in the Forum. In one of theſe it was that Appius firſt ſaw this beautiful young lady, and was charmed no leſs with her intent application, than with her graceful mien and moſt engaging behaviour. As his office called upon him to appear frequently in the Forum, this ſevere magiſtrate and law-giver was obſerved to ſtop as often as he came to the ſchool of the young virgins, and there to behold, with great ſatisfaction, ſome agreeable object.

THE perſon, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of Lucius Virginius, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Altho' he was a Plebeian, he made a conſiderable figure in the troops, and had led ſeveral detachments in the preſent war with the Æqui, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was VIRGINIA, whoſe ſentiments of virtue and honor were of a piece with the approved integrity of her father. Her mother Numitoria being dead, Virginius, on his departure for the war, had committed her

her to the care of an uncle by her mother's ſide, who ſhewed for her all the affection and concern of a parent. She was now marriageable, and her father had already promiſed her to Icilius, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign.

But in the mean time the Decemvir Appius, conceiving a violent paſſion for her, reſolved at all adventures to ſatisfy it. He was not unwilling to have married her; but he had a wife already, and, tho' divorces were allowed by law, yet there never had an been inſtance of one at Rome. Polygamy was ſtrictly forbidden. And the Decemvir himſelf had juſt paſſed a law prohibiting all marriages between Patricians and Plebeians. So that he had no room to hope for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, except by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young lady. Theſe he began to purſue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large preſents and larger offers, VIRGINIA's nurſe or governneſs. But ſhe, equally prudent and faithful, and at the ſame time, well ſatisfied of the inflexible virtue of her ward, inſtead of making a private market of the honor and charms of the beautiful VIRGINIA, rejected his offers with the utmoſt indignation, and only kept a more watchful eye than ever, for the ſecurity of her fair charge.

THE amorous tyrant, finding that he could neither corrupt nor deceive the truſty and vigilant governeſs, had recourſe to another ſtratagem, the execution of which he entruſted to Marcus Claudius, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, and fit for any villainous enterprize. This miniſter of the Decemvir's pleaſures, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the public ſchool, where VIRGINIA was, and ſeizing her by the arm, declared that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was conveying her to his houſe, with all the authority which the law gave to a maſter over his fugitive ſlave, the people flocked about him, and, being touched with ſo moving a ſight, for the diſtreſs of amiable VIRGINIA pleaded ſtrongly in her behalf, obliged him to ſet her at liberty.

CLAUDIUS, finding that he could not execute his firſt deſign, cited her to appear before the Decemvir; and ſhe, by the new laws, was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. Appius, who was alone upon the bench, was juſt ready to adjudge her to the claimant as his lawful ſlave, when the people, filled with indignation, cried out with one voice, that VIRGINIA's relations ought firſt to be heard. Appius, abſolute as he was, durſt not refuſe to ſuſpend the ſentence, 'till ſome of the priſoner's relations appeared.

THE firſt who came was Numitorius, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival, ſilence being made, Claudius renewed his claim, founded on a lye concerted between him and the judge. He pretended that VIRGINIA was born in his houſe of a ſlave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to Numitoria, the wife of Virginius; and that Numitoria had impoſed the child on her huſband, and made VIRGINIA paſs for his daughter. He added, that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced: that in the mean time it was but juſt, that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter; and that he would give ſecurity to produce the young woman again in court, when Virginius, her pretended father, returned from the war.

NUMITORIUS on the other ſide, repreſented that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it; adding, that Virginius, who was ſerving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at Rome in two days; and that it was but reaſonable that her uncle, who had the care of her perſon, ſhould, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honor. This, ſays he, is conformable to the laws, which ordain that, during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion.

BUT this law Appius eluded, by artfully obſerving, that in the preſent diſpute, there were two circumſtances which altered the caſe. "Here (ſaid "he) are two perſons claiming, one as a father, the "other as a maſter; if the pretended father were "preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſ-"ſeſſion; but he being abſent, the' perſon, who "claims her as his ſlave, ought to be preferred to "any other, provided he gives good ſecurity to "produce her again at the return of him who is "called her father." Having thus ſpoken, he ordered VIRGINIA to be put into Claudius's hands.

THE iniquity of the judgment incenſed all who were preſent. The women, who ſurrounded VIRGINIA, made ſuch out-cries that they were heard at a great diſtance. They kept her in the middle of them, and ſeemed reſolute to defend her. At that inſtant Icilius, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, arrived, and breaking through the crowd, forced his way to the tribunal, to defend his dear VIRGINIA. A lictor endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, crying to him, that ſentence was already paſſed.——But nothing could ſtop the enraged lover: he took VIRGINIA in his arms, and addreſſing himſelf to Appius, "No, Ap-"pius, he cried, nothing but death ſhall ſeparate "me from VIRGINIA. Add my murder to the "many crimes with which thou art already polluted.

" Aſſemble all thy lictors, and thoſe of thy collegues " too, I will defend her honor to my laſt breath. " Have you deprived us of the protection of our " tribunes, only to ſubject our wives and daughters " to your lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your rage " upon our eſtates and lives; but ſpare the chaſtity " of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the " honor of VIRGINIA, I call the Gods to witneſs, " that it ſhall not go un-revenged. What will not " Virginius be able to do in the army, and Icilius " among the people, when one is to revenge the " cauſe of an injured wife, and the other of a diſ- " honored daughter?"——He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and to ſeize VIRGINIA.

BUT the people, moved with his misfortune and courage, fell upon the officers of the Decemvir, diſperſed them, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal. Appius, ſeeing the people incenſed againſt him beyond meaſure, called his client to him, whiſpered in his ear, and then, having cauſed ſilence to be made, " It is not, ſaid he, the " fury of the violent Icilius, which makes me com- " ply, but the entreaties of Claudius my client. He " is willing to give up the right he has to carry " home his ſlave, and to commit her to the ſame " hands in which ſhe was before. At his requeſt I " will wait for Virginius's return 'till to morrow.

" Let

"Let his friends take care to give him notice. If "Virginius does not appear at the time appointed, "I would have Icilius know, that I ſhall not want "any aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree "in execution." When he had done ſpeaking, Claudius deſired that Icilius might give ſecurity for producing VIRGINIA the next day. This was done accordingly; all the people preſent offering with eagerneſs to be his ſecurity.

ICILIUS and Numitorius immediately diſpatched, the firſt his brother, the ſecond his ſon, to bring Virginius from the camp. Appius at the ſame time ſent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under an arreſt. But the other meſſengers were more expeditious. And Virginius, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was ſo fortunate as to eſcape two parties which were ſent, one from the camp, and the other from the city, to ſtop him.

HE appeared the next morning in the Forum, leading his daughter in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of diſtinction. He addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens as he paſſed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which ſeemed rather to demand, than to implore, aſſiſtance.

BUT Icilius broke into the throng. Love, jealouſy and reſentment urged him on. He inveighed loudly againſt Appius, and endeavoured to transfuſe his own warm ſentiments into every breaſt. While the ſilent diſtreſs of VIRGINIA, which ſpoke perſuaſively in every look and geſture, and the tears of the women, who attended her, effected the multitude more than any words could have done.

APPIUS, informed of this, was greatly ſurprized to hear that Virginius was in the Forum. Full of rage he repaired thither, and tho' appriſed of the diſpoſition of the people, aſcended his tribunal, being ſurrounded by a numerous crowd of dependents and creatures. Claudius was the firſt who ſpoke. He renewed his claim, and produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned to declare that ſhe was the mother of VIRGINIA, and that ſhe had ſold her to the wife of VIRGINIUS. Several other witneſſes appeared to atteſt the ſame thing, all gained with great promiſes by Appius and his client Claudius.

THE friends and relations of VIRGINIA, to deſtroy this impoſture, urged the little probability of Numitoria's impoſing a child upon her huſband. He had married her when ſhe was very young, and was almoſt of the ſame age with her. VIRGINIA was born ſoon after the marriage. "Where then, ſaid they, "was the neceſſity for Numitoria's practiſ-

"ing

"ing ſuch a fraud as is pretended? Beſides, if ſhe "had proved barren, and had deſigned to introduce "a ſtranger into her family, why ſhould ſhe have "choſen the child of a ſlave rather than of a free "woman? Why a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily "have had a boy? Beſides, was it poſſible that a "contrivance, carried on by ſo many perſons, ſhould "continue ſo long a ſecret? Would not the ſlave "have made her court to her maſter, as ſoon as "Numitoria was dead, by diſcovering a ſecret to "him, which would have put him in poſſeſſion of "a young woman well educated, and of extraordi-"nary beauty? Why was this myſtery kept undiſ-"covered 'till Appius was Decimvir, ſince the ſlave "for a long time paſt could have no intereſt in "concealing it?"

To theſe preſumptions Virginius added undeniable proofs, and brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable women in Rome, who depoſed, ſome that they had ſeen Numitoria when ſhe was big with child; others, that they had aſſiſted at her labour, and ſome that they had ſeen her ſuckle young VIRGINIA, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as Claudius pretended.

APPIUS, obſerving that theſe unanſwerable proofs made a great impreſſion upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence; and commanding ſilence, ſignified that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the

the people liſtened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object againſt ſo many witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit. He then ſpoke thus; "I muſt acquaint you, Virginius, and all who are preſent, that this is not the firſt time that I have heard of this affair. Claudius's father revealed the ſecret to me at his death, when he made me his ſon's guardian. Afterwards I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature; and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned, when he ſhould come to age. But now that the cauſe is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give ſentence according to my own perſonal knowledge, I declare, both as judge and witneſs, that the young woman belongs to Claudius; and my ſentence is, that ſhe be delivered up to him as his property."

VIRGINIUS, provoked to the higheſt degree at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, was no longer maſter of himſelf. He trembled with rage, and accompanying his words with a threatening geſture, "Infamous wretch!" ſaid he, "I never deſigned my daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful huſband, and not to be a prey to a luſtful raviſher. Muſt then brutal paſſions among us take the place of honorable marriages! How the citizens here will bear with theſe things, I know not; but I truſt, that the

the army will revenge my wrongs." At theſe words the people ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppoſe the execution of Appius's decree.

But the Decemvir, having firſt caſt his eyes on all ſides, to obſerve his ſtrength, and how his friends were poſted, told the multitude with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cauſe an inſurrection; but that he neither wanted power nor reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as ſhould endeavour to diſturb the public peace. "Let every one therefore, ſaid he, retire to his own houſe, and none preſume to give law to a ſupreme magiſtrate. As for you, Claudius, ſeize your ſlave, and make uſe of my guard to diſperſe the crowd." At theſe words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back; and left Virginia ſtanding by herſelf, an helpleſs prey to injuſtice.

The unfortunate father, now ſeeing there was no other remedy, drew near to Appius, and in a ſuppliant manner addreſſed him thus: "Pardon, "Appius, the unguarded words, which have eſcap- "ed me in my firſt tranſports of grief; and allow "me to aſk, in the young woman's preſence, ſome "queſtions of her nurſe, that I may carry home at "leaſt the comfort of being ſet right in this matter."

Appius

Appius readily granted his requeſt; and Virginius, taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping away the tears in which her face was bathed, drew near to the adjoining ſhops in the Forum. There he ſnatched up a butcher's knife, and turning to VIRGINIA, "My dear daughter, ſaid he, this is the "only way to ſave thy liberty and thy honor. Go, "VIRGINIA, go to thy anceſtors, whilſt thou art "yet a free-woman, pure and undefiled." With theſe words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again, all ſmoaking with her blood, and turning to Appius, "By this blood, "he cried, I devote thy head to the infernal gods." The Decemvir immediately ordered him to be ſeized; but he, with the knife in his hand, made his way through the crowd, got out of the city, and mounting his horſe, took the road to the camp.

IN the mean time, Numitorius and Icilius, ſtaying by the dead body of VIRGINIA, and ſhewing it to the people, raiſed a great commotion in the city. As for Appius, he ſeemed to be under that dementation, which uſually ſeizes the wicked when they are doomed to deſtruction. Inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own houſe, and from thence ſent his lictors to ſeize Icilius, and carry away the dead body. But the people oppoſed the execution of his orders, and falling upon thoſe officers, broke their faſces and drove them out of the forum. HERE-

HEREUPON the Decemvir had the boldneſs to come in perſon, attended by a choſen company of young patricians to ſupport his authority. But Valerius and Horatius, the ſame who had oppoſed the authority of the Decemvirs in the ſenate, putting themſelves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged him to retire.

IN this perplexity Appius haſtened to the temple of Vulcan; and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that Valerius and Horatius ſhould be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian Rock, as diſturbers of the public tranquility. But his harangue was often interrupted with hiſſes; and in the mean time Valerius, having cauſed the body of VIRGINIA to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, whence it might be ſeen by the people, was from the ſame eminence, inveighing againſt Appius. So that there were two aſſemblies, and two orators, in different parts of the Forum, declaiming againſt each other at the ſame time. But Appius's auditors ſoon left him to go to Valerius; and Appius, terrified at the deſertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe.

AT that juncture Oppius, another of the Decemvirs, tho' a Plebeian, ruſhed into the forum to defend his

his collegue. But finding that the party of Horatius and Valerius was by far the ſtrongeſt, he judged it the wiſeſt meaſure, in the preſent exigence, to convene the ſenate. This immediately quieted the minds of the multitude. For they hoped that the Decemvirate would now be aboliſhed. But the Senators then in Rome, being in general friends to the Decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near mount Algidus, and prevent the Sedition which Virginius might raiſe there.

He had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the bloody knife in his hand. The ſoldiers at this ſtrange ſight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, ſtanding on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by Appius againſt his daughter's honor and liberty, and the cruel method which he had been forced to take for the preſervation of her chaſtity. The centurions and ſoldiers, full of indignation againſt Appius, aſſured him, that they were determined to ſtand by him in whatever he ſhould undertake againſt ſo wicked a tyrant.

The Decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of Virginius's return, and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, attempted to ſeize the former, and

and appeaſe the latter. But the ſoldiers, refuſing to to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as uſurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, ſnatched up their enſigns, and took the way to Rome, which they reached about evening, and entered without making the leaſt diſturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount Aventine, and there entrenched themſelves, declaring that they would not lay down their arms 'till the Decemvirate was aboliſhed, and the tribuneſhip reſtored.

HEREUPON Oppius convened the ſenate (for Appius was afraid to appear in public); and the conſcript fathers agreed to ſend three of their body to the army, to aſk, Why they had left the camp, without their general's orders, and what their intent was, in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount Avantine? As they had not yet choſen an head, they all cried out with one voice, "Let Valerius and Horatius be "ſent to us; we will return no anſwer to the ſenate, "but by them." As ſoon as the three commiſſioners were gone, Virginius adviſed the troops to chuſe chiefs to govern them and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten perſons were elected, under the title of Military Tribunes. The army was deſirous of having Virginius at the head of them, but he declined the honor. "My daughter, ſaid he, "is dead; and I have not yet revenged her death.

"No kind of honor will become me, 'till her Manes "are appeaſed. Beſides, what prudent or moderate "counſels can you expect from me, who am ſo in- "cenſed againſt the tyrants? I ſhall be of more "ſervice to the common cauſe, by acting in it as "a private man."

In the mean time the three legions ſent againſt the Sabines, being ſtirred up by Numitorius and Icilius, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, choſen for themſelves ten Military Tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the Avantine. The two armies thus united, commiſſioned their twenty Tribunes to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all; and the choice fell upon Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius.

Mean-while the ſenate aſſembled every day, but ſpent the whole time in debates, without coming to any reſolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that Valerius and Horatius ſhould be ſent to the revolted army. But they proteſted that they would not move a ſtep, ſo long as the Decemvirs were maſters of the government. The two armies, tired out with theſe delays, removed their camp to the Sacred Mount, intrenched themſelves there, and obſerved the ſame good diſcipline which their anceſtors had formerly done. In this decamp-

ment

ment they were followed by ſuch numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that Rome was in a manner deſerted.

THE ſenators, ſurprized to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, reſolved at length to aboliſh the Decemvirate, to reſtore to the people their Tribunes, and to the ſenate its Conſuls. The Decemvirs, finding that they could not retain their authority any longer, only deſired they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies; and offered to reſign the power which they exerciſed, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit to create new Conſuls.

UPON this Valerius and Horatius repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpreſſible joy. Icilius, whom the army choſe for their ſpeaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal which they had ſhewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded in the name of all who had retired to the Sacred Mount, 1. The re-eſtabliſhment of the Tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the deciſion of the Conſuls. 2. An amneſty for all who had left the camp without permiſſion from their generals. 3. That the Decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands, that they might be burned alive.

THE prudent deputies made a great difference between the two firſt articles and the laſt. "Your "two firſt demands, ſaid they, are agreeable to rea- "ſon; but the third is the effect of paſſion. You "are offered a ſhield; do not pretend to take a "ſword too. The ſenate has not yet declared you "innocent, and will you already preſume to give "law to it?"

THE people being ſatisfied that no tribunes what- ſoever could have their intereſts more at heart than thoſe two ſenators, empowered them to make what terms for them they ſhould think fit. Horatius and Valerius returned immediately to the ſenate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their menaces againſt the Decemvirs. Theſe therefore, hearing no mention made of their puniſhment, readily conſented to all that was aſked. Only Appius ſeemed unwilling to part with his pow- er: "To re-eſtabliſh the Tribuneſhip, ſaid he, is "only to put arms into the hands of the enraged "multitude. I find my life muſt be ſacrificed to the "public hatred: but ſince it muſt be ſo, I will not "any longer oppoſe the rage of the populace. I am "ready to reſign the Decemvirate, and care not how "ſoon I do it."

ACCORDINGLY a decree paſſed, aboliſhing the Decemvirate, and reſtoring the Tribunes. Then the Decemvirs,

Decemvirs, repairing to the Forum, there laid down their authority, to the great joy of the city. When the news of this reſignation came to the camp, the army, leaving the Sacred mount, encamped a ſecond time on mount Aventine, and there choſe their tribunes, the Pontifex Maximius preſiding at the election. Virginius, Icilius and Numitorius were firſt named. C. Sicinius, M. Duilius, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius, were appointed their collegues. An interrex was afterwards created, who held an aſſembly of the people by centuries, in which L. Valerius and M. Horatius were raiſed to the Conſulate.

THE power of the Tribunes being now firmly eſtabliſhed, they reſolved to proſecute the Decemvirs, and to begin with Appius. He was accordingly cited to appear. Virginius, who was appointed to be his accuſer, without enumerating all his crimes, inſiſted only on his having, contrary to law, refuſed a young woman, who was in poſſeſſion of her liberty, the right of enjoying it 'till the ſuit was determined. "If you do not inſtantly clear yourſelf from this "breach of the law, I will order you, ſaid Virgin-"ius, to be carried to priſon." Appius kept ſilence; but when the Tribunes' officers offered to ſeize him, he cried out, "I appeal;" and having enumerated the ſervices done by his family to the republic, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common

good, in compiling the body of laws contained in the 12 tables, he claimed the protection of the laws juſt made in favor of appeals. Virginius anſwered that ſuch a monſter as Appius ought not to partake of the common benefits of ſociety, nor be allowed to eſcape impriſonment on giving ſecurity, ſince he had refuſed that priviledge to VIRGINIA. He added, that it was but reaſonable, that ſo profligate a wretch ſhould be carried to that priſon, which he himſelf had built and inſolently named, *The Habitation of the people of Rome*. Accordingly, he was led to priſon, notwithſtanding his appeal: but his trial was put off to the third market-day, before which time he died in priſon. Dionyſius ſays, the Tribunes gave out that he had ſtrangled himſelf; but that it was much ſuſpected that he had been diſpatched by their orders. But Livy writes, that to avoid the infamy of a public puniſhment, he laid violent hands on himſelf in priſon.

THE Decemvir Oppius was likewiſe thrown into priſon, and died there the ſame day. The other eight Decemvirs, terrified with theſe impriſonments thus ſucceded by ſudden deaths, retired into baniſhment of their own accord. M. Claudius the client, who had been ſuborned to ſerve the pleaſures, and carry on the iniquity of his patron, was condemned to death. But Virginius, pitying a wretch who had offended at the inſtigation of a powerful magiſtrate,

trate, changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, upon his confeſſing, that he had been ſuborned. After this, a general amneſty was granted, and the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquility.

THE memory of this extraordinary tranſaction is preſerved in the following very ancient monumental inſcription, yet extant at Rome, in Santa Maria Monticelli.

D. M.

VIRGINIS FILIÆ MEÆ CARISSIMÆ VIRGINEÆ NIMIAM OB PIETATEM PROPRIIS MEIS MANIBUS INTEREMPTÆ, PROTI DOLOR QUANTUM FUIT CARISSIMA, IN ANNO XVI. JUVENTUTIS EJUS, MENS. V. D. III.

Vide Gruter. Theſaur. Critic. Tom. ſext.

CHAP. VI.

OF

SOCRATES.

SOCRATES, the ſon of Sophroniſcus and Phænareta of Athens, was born on the ſixteenth of May, four hundred and ſixty-eight years before CHRIST. His mother practiſed midwifery; but the employment of his father, who was a ſtatuary, was one of the moſt honorable in Greece. He inſtructed his ſon in the ſame art, who is ſaid to have made the clothed or Decent Graces, which ſtood upon the walls of the citadel behind the ſtatue of Minerva. An early indication, ſays our author, of the propenſity of his mind to beauty!

HE was thus employed, when a noble Athenian, who was afterwards his principal diſciple, and whoſe name was Crito, took him from the chiſſel, having taken notice of his extraordinary talents, and enabled him

him to apply his attention to the divine contemplation of moral ſymmetry. In this ſtudy he acknowledges Prodicus to have been his principal inſtructor. But for the improvement of his leizure hours, he had many aſſiſtants in the other arts and ſciences. Thus he learned Rhetoric of the famous Aſpaſia, who married Pericles, Muſic of Connus, Poetry of Evenus, Agriculture of Iſimachus, and Geometry of Theodorus.

YET as ſeveral other pieces of exquiſite workmanſhip, beſides the Graces already mentioned, were of his performance; we may imagine that SOCRATES did not leave his employment of a ſtatuary, to apply himſelf totally to philoſophy, 'till he was near thirty years of age. At this time we may ſuppoſe it was that Crito furniſhed him with the means of throughly proſecuting his favorite ſtudies.

BUT firſt of all, he applied himſelf to natural philoſophy, under the directions of Archelaus, the diſciple of Anaxagoras. This had been for a long time the favorite ſtudy of the Athenians, and was principally engaged in an enquiry into the magnitudes, diſtances and motions of the celeſtial bodies. In this he made an uncommon progreſs, but nevertheleſs met with many inexplicable difficulties; 'till having experienced the little ſervice of it towards the promotion of real happineſs, and the good of mankind,

mankind, he gave it up, and made morality the great object of his concern. Thus, as Cicero obſerves, SOCRATES was the firſt that called down philoſophy from heaven, that placed it in cities, introduced it into houſes, and compelled it to make inquiſition of life, of morals, and of good and evil.

NEITHER was he ſo taken up with theſe reſearches, as to neglect any of the duties of a good citizen. And particularly when he was thirty-ſix years of age, occaſions were offered of diſtinguiſhing his public Spirit, his fortitude and friendſhip. For Potidæa, a city of Thrace, but ſubject to the republic of Athens, at this time revolted. An expedition was therefore immediately ſet on foot for the reduction of the place. A conſiderable fleet ſet ſail, and ſome time after another, with a body of land-troops on board. Amongſt theſe was SOCRATES. Calias, an Athenian of great quality and courage, commanded in chief.

THE Potidæans were aſſiſted by the Corinthian forces under the command of Ariſteus. They did not therefore ſuffer themſelves to be inveſted without an action; but they were defeated and driven again within their walls. But this victory coſt the Athenian general his life. Phormio, who ſucceeded him in the command, beſieged the city in form, and ſhut up the harbour with his fleet. But the Potideans

dæans, dreading to fall into the Hands of the Athenians, made a moſt obſtinate defence for two years and upwards; and were at laſt obliged by famine to ſubmit.

In this engagement, and throughout the ſiege, the bravery of Socrates was exceedingly diſtinguiſhed. In a ſkirmiſh he ſaved the life of Alcibiades. He gained the prize of valor by the general ſuffrage of his competitors, but reſigned the glory of it to the young nobleman juſt now ſpoken of. This he did from a motive of true friendſhip, and to encourage him to become hereafter deſerving of more ſignal honors from his country.

Tho' entertained during the whole war in the tent of Alcibiades, and having every delicacy at command, which luxury could furniſh, he never once yielded to the temptations of eaſe and plenty, but inured himſelf to all the hardſhips and ſeverities of a military life. It was ever his cuſtom, before and after, to go barefoot; but this he now practiſed in the rigor of winter, even upon the ice, in a very bleak climate, and clothed in his ordinary manner. Thus by the ſtricteſt temperance and a conſtant perſeverance in the virtuous toil of martial exerciſes, he acquired a conſtitution ſuperior to the attacks of diſeaſe; for when an almoſt univerſal plague had ſeized upon the camp, inſomuch that eleven hundred

men

men were carried off by the contagion in the army before Potidæa, and Athens itſelf was half depopulated, he eſcaped that dreadful malady in both places, and was the *only one* in the camp that did not in ſome meaſure experience the effects of it.

DURING the continuance of this ſiege, and amidſt the inceſſant noiſe, avocations and dangers which attended it, his ardent thirſt of knowledge never abated. For, whenever his military duty did not interfere, he would ſit whole days in his tent employing his mind in the moſt profound contemplations. Nor was it unuſual with him to continue *ſtanding*, in the ſame cogitabund ſtate, without motion, and with his eyes open, and ſtill directed to the ſame ſpot, for a day and night together.

WHEN the ſiege was over, and he returned home, he proceded in the taſk, for which he had been long preparing of combating the deluſive Sophiſtry and wild Superſtition of his country-men. In this he ſtruggled manfully with every difficulty, which truth could encounter; the mercenary views of a deceitful oratory; an obſtinate bigotry artfully interwoven with the policy of the ſtate; the diſcouragement of poverty, and the frowns of power. At home and abroad, whether ſitting, walking, bathing, or viſiting, he was ſtill inculcating to his fellow-citizens the duties of humanity, and directing their views to the FIRST-PERFECT and FIRST-FAIR.

BUT

But all this while, that he might proceed without interruption, he ſeemingly complied with all the external ceremonies of devotion, and often ſacrificed to the Gods upon the common altars of the city. This occaſional conformity ſcreened him from proſecution for ſeveral years, and gave him frequent opportunities of converſing with the moſt eminent perſons, while their minds were warm with gratitude to heaven at the ſhrines of their imaginary deities, and thereby of converting their zeal to the ſervice of truth. On one of theſe occaſions it was, that he recommended to Alcibiades this ſhort comprehenſive prayer of an ancient poet: "Great God, Give "us thoſe things which are good for us, whether "we pray for them or no; and keep thoſe things "from us which are hurtful, even tho' we ſhould "pray for them." On another, when Ariſtodemus the Epicurean, to excuſe his inattention to divine things, alledged that he did not contemn the Deity, but, on the contrary, ſuppoſed him to be ſomething more magnificent than to need his worſhip, Socrates replied, "With how much the more magnifi-"cence he diſdains not to take care of you, ſo "much the more honorable ſervice muſt he expect "at your hands." "But I tell you, ſaid the other, that I ſhould not neglect him, could I think that he took *any* care of human affairs." "Think you then "that he is careleſs of man, who, of all the animal "creation, gave to him alone the erect poſture?

" And the upright figure has this advantage with it,
" that its proſpects can be far extended, or directed
" to the heaven above, and is calculated for defence
" and ſafety: that to this added eyes and ears and
" mouth? that to the reptile world gave feet indeed,
" merely to anſwer the end of going; but to man
" gave further the convenience of hands, adapted
" to employment of every kind, and infinite action?
" that gave indeed a tongue to every living creature;
" but ſo diſtinguiſhed and contrived the fabric of the
" human tongue, as by different contact to articulate
" ſounds, and model converſation to its liking?
" that gave to other animals, 'tis true, a power of
" continuing the ſpecies, but confined the inſtinct,
" and preſcribed the ſtated ſeaſon: but to man,
" proceeding only within the limits of right reaſon,
" indulged the means, and authorized the joy at
" all times, even to the decline of age? But this is
" little, when compared to that greateſt and beſt
" endowment of our nature, the reaſonable ſoul.
" What animal but man, within the confines of our
" knowledge and this world, conceives the being
" of a GOD, who formed this glorious ſtructure, or
" pays to him the worſhip due to his Divinity?
" Where find you a precaution equal to that of
" human reaſon, in guarding againſt hunger, thirſt,
" and heats and colds; in the cure of diſorders, and
" the exerciſe of the body; in the acquiſition of
" learning, and the retention of the memory? Is it

" not

"not evident that men are diſtinguiſhed as gods "amidſt the reſt of the creation, being far ſuperior "both in form and underſtanding?" He concludes with this illuſtration of the greatneſs of GOD compared by analogy with the infinitely inferior faculties of man, which he had juſt now proved to excel in the higheſt degree thoſe of all other animals. "Obſerve, my friend, how the ſoul governs at "will the body which it inſpires; be convinced "therefore, that the DIVINE SAPIENCE, which "pervades the univerſe, governs in like manner "all things according to his pleaſure. Think not, "if your eye is able to ſee many furlongs, that it "is impoſſible for the eye of GOD to behold all "things: or, if your ſoul is capable of thinking "what happens, either here, or in Egypt or Sicily, "that the all-comprehending wiſdom is unable to "take care of the whole creation." In like manner, continues Xenophon, SOCRATES taught his diſciples to refrain from doing what was unjuſt and baſe, not only when they were in public, but in the moſt private receſſes; as no action, how ſecret ſo ever, could be concealed from the inſpection of the Deity.

THE reputation of SOCRATES being well eſtabliſhed on account of his uncommon doctrines and abilities, he ſoon became the envy of the Sophiſts, who plainly perceived their audiences to decreaſe

daily. He frequently entered into diſputes with them, and never failed of triumphing over all their arts, and receiving the applauſe due to his merit, even from their own diſciples, whom he generally made proſelytes in the end, and added to the train of his own followers. In his diſputations he introduced a new method of argumentation, called Induction, which by always interrogating, and never affirming any thing, inveſtigated truth, without dogmatically aſſerting it, and made the antagoniſt himſelf, before he was aware of the counter-plot laid againſt him, confute the fallacy of his own ill-grounded tenets.

By theſe means, without aſſuming any pretenſions to knowledge, he baffled the Sophiſtry, detected the ignorance, and expoſed the vanity of thoſe pompous profeſſors of wiſdom.

Amidst the careſſes and almoſt adorations of the wiſeſt and beſt men, the ſoul of Socrates was never elevated above the common concerns of private life, or the leſs engaging avocations of public ſervice. For, an expedition being projected againſt the Bœotians, he voluntarily embarked in the enterprize. After ſome time, the two armies came to an action at Delium. But the Athenians were defeated with great ſlaughter. Socrates ſignalized his courage both in the battle and the retreat. In

the

the latter he did not fly precipitately, as the reſt of the army did; but retired foot by foot with his face ſtill towards the enemy. Virgil has deſcribed Turnus in the ſame circumſtances, and behaving in the ſame manner;

As when with tilted ſpears the clam'rous train
Invade the brindled monarch of the plain,
The lordly ſavage from the ſhouting foe
Retires, majeſtically ſtern and ſlow,
Tho' ſingly impotent the crowd to dare,
Repel, or ſtand their whole collected war;
Grim he looks back; he rolls his glaring eye;
Deſpairs to conquer; and diſdains to fly.
So Turnus paus'd, and by degrees retir'd;
While ſhame, diſdain, and rage, the heroe fir'd.

EVEN Lucian, whoſe malignity was never ſo pleaſingly gratified as when the character of real goodneſs would admit of a ridiculous perverſion, has been obliged in the preſent inſtance to do juſtice to the valor and intrepidity of SOCRATES. In a fictious battle among the dead, he has ranked him with the greateſt heroes of antiquity. "He was in "the right wing, ſays he, and fought with as much "bravery, as he did while he was yet alive at De-"lium. For, as the enemies advanced upon him, "he fled not, but ſtill faced them."

In this retreat he perceived Xenophon at a ſmall diſtance from him, thrown off his horſe and wounded, whom he took upon his ſhoulders, and carried out of all danger. By ſo doing, he did the two republics, of Athens and of letters, the moſt eminent ſervice. For he ſaved the life of an illuſtrious citizen, who was afterwards a noble ornament of both; and gained to himſelf a moſt unalterable friend through life, and a faithful recorder of his divine actions and precepts after his death.

Socrates, on his return to Athens, found that his enemies had taken advantage of his abſence, and had raiſed no inconſiderable party againſt him. Ariſtophanes, the comic poet, was their tool. He wrote a comedy, which he entitled The Clouds, purpoſely to ridicule Socrates and ſound the people. The philoſopher was repreſented hanging up in a baſket in the air, and uttering numberleſs chimerical abſurdities and contemptuous expreſſions againſt the gods of his country. When he heard of this performance, tho' he always abſtained from thoſe entertainments, (except when the tragedies of Euripides were acted, in which himſelf was reported to have no inconſiderable hand) he became a ſpectator of it without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of reſentment or anger. So far from it, that indeed, ſome ſtrangers preſent being deſirous of ſeeing him, who was thus ridiculouſly repreſented, he roſe up in the midſt

of

of the performance, and continued ſtanding the reſt of the time, in order to ſhew himſelf to the people. This confidence turned the ridicule upon the poet, who having brought his play a ſecond time upon the ſtage, met with the contempt and reproach which he juſtly merited.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conſequences which his laſt abſence had produced, SOCRATES attended his country-men in another expedition to Thrace; which proved no more to the advantage of Athens than the laſt. He never went out of Attica, except in theſe three military expeditions, and once to the Iſthmian Games.

FROM this time forward he continued to proſecute with greater ardor than ever, his glorious deſign of reforming mankind; and was reſorted to from all quarters by the moſt eminent and learned men. The following is a remarkable inſtance of this. The Athenians had conceived ſuch bitterneſs againſt the Megarenſians, that they had lately made a law to puniſh with death any citizen of Megara, who ſhould be found ſetting his foot in Athens. There was at this time one Euclid of Megara, who before the paſſing of this law, uſed frequently to viſit Athens and was one of SOCRATES's admirers. He was now informed of the extreme danger of being ſeen there any more; yet took ſuch delight in the converſation

converſation of our philoſopher, that he determined to run all hazards, rather than deprive himſelf of it. He therefore dreſſed himſelf in the habit of a woman, and when the evening ſet in, travelled from Megara to Athens; and having for part of the night enjoyed the inſtructions of our divine philoſopher, returned on foot before day-light in the ſame dreſs to his own home and city, more than twenty miles from Athens.

AGREEABLY to the common practice of the times, SOCRATES might have taken a proper reward for his labors; by which he muſt have acquired immenſe riches. But all this while, with a diſintereſted generoſity which evidenced his own conviction and the ſincerity of his intentions, he refuſed the Wealth which he honeſtly earned and might have worthily received, was content with the ſmalleſt pittance of external Goods, and it is recorded of him by one of his diſciples, that no man could earn too little for the maintainance of SOCRATES.

THO' frequently expoſed to the inſults of the populace, he never returned evil for evil, nor ever in the whole courſe of his life did hurt to any man, but endeavoured to make the whole ſpecies his friends by every act of humanity. Yet he had the ſeeds of anger and impatience in him, as well as other men; and ingeniouſly confeſſed his propenſity

to

to vice. For, when his diſciples laughed at the famous phyziognomiſt Zopyrus for declaring, after he had viewed the linaments of his face, that SOCRATES was a man of the moſt vicious inclinations, he juſtified the obſervation, to the ſurprize of thoſe who heard him. "I am, ſaid he, prone "to vices, as this man ſays, but I ſubdue and get "the better of them by reaſon."

HE never aimed at praiſe, for he always confeſſed that HE KNEW NOTHING; but in all his diſcourſes and diſputations inſiſted upon thoſe points only, which might be uſeful to mankind; ſtill enquiring, What was pious, and what was impious; what juſt, and what was unjuſt? Thoſe, who were verſed in this divine ſcience, he was wont to denominate THE BEAUTIFUL and THE GOOD; but thoſe who were ignorant of it, he judged might properly be termed ſlaves; for ſuch they were in fact to their own enthralling appetites.

BEING thus in love with the *beautiful* and *good* in morals, he was led by an intercourſe of ideas, to look upon the comelineſs of an handſome perſon, as the external mark of inward goodneſs, which made itſelf thus viſible by the correſponding features of an amiable countenance. And thus it is, that Maximius Tyrius elegantly deſcribes the virtuous and rational love of SOCRATES for Alcibiades and

others

others of his diſciples; in contradiſtinction to that unnatural and deteſtable paſſion, with which the ancients too frequently diſgraced their ſpecies. He uſed to adviſe young men often to look in the glaſs; and, if they found themſelves beautiful, to take care not to ſtain that beauty by vice; if deformed, to endeavour to cover their imperfections by Virtue.

He followed Alcibiades very induſtriouſly to prevent his falling into thoſe deſtructive pleaſures, to which he was too much ſubjected by the eaſineſs of his temper and uncommon warmth of his conſtitution. Indeed, there was an inſtitution of Solon's at Athens, which was afterwards copied throughout Greece, that every man of experienced wiſdom and probity ſhould take youths under his care, and after having gained their virtuous affections, to educate them in the principles of juſtice, honor and fortitude. A remarkable inſtance of the mutual friendſhip ſubſiſting between ſome youths and their inſtructors was ſhewn in the ſacred Phalanx of the Thebans, at the famous battle of Chæronea, where a body of three hundred were ſlain fighting ſide by ſide. Philip, king of Macedon, ſeeing them lie dead together, ſaid weeping, "Curſed be they who "ſuſpect that theſe men could either do or ſuffer a "baſe thing." A generous teſtimony from an enemy, of that bravery, which was ſo nobly ſupported by

by virtuous friendſhip! So much was this education thought neceſſary amongſt the Greeks, that as Cicero obſerves, "It was reproachful amongſt them, not to "have lovers." By which term the inſtructors above-mentioned were ſignified.

But none who lived near his times, ever accuſed Socrates of an unnatural affection. Not Ariſtophanes himſelf; not Ariſtoxenus, the profeſſed enemy of the academy; nor Porphyry, who was more inveterate againſt him than the bittereſt of his contemporaries; ever thought of laying to his charge ſo deteſtable a crime. And what is ſaid of his corrupting youths, in the accuſation laid by Melitus regarded merely their political and religious principles.

On the other hand, it was his declared opinion that vice would ever be the parent of infamy, diſeaſe and woe; but that virtue never failed to lead her votaries to happineſs, through the paths of honorable toil and induſtry. This was the ſubject of his converſation with Ariſtippus, the profeſſed votary of pleaſure, which he concluded with the following beautiful fable, which is verſified by one of our beſt poets.

The CHOICE of HERCULES.

I.

NOW had the Son of JOVE, mature, attain'd
The joyful prime; when youth elate and gay,
Steps into life, and follows unreſtrain'd
Where paſſion leads or prudence points the way.
In the pure minds, at thoſe ambig'ous years,
Or vice, rank weed, firſt ſtrikes her pois'nous root;
Or haply virtue's op'ning bud appears
By juſt degrees, fair bloom of faireſt fruit:
For if on youth's untainted thought impreſt,
The gen'rous purpoſe ſtill ſhall warm the manly breaſt.

II.

As on a day, reflecting on his age
For higheſt deeds now ripe, Alcides ſought
Retirement, nurſe of contemplation ſage,
Step following ſtep, and thought ſucceding thought;
Muſing, with ſteady pace the youth purſu'd
His walk; and loſt in meditation ſtray'd
Far in a lonely vale, with ſolitude
Converſing; while intent his mind ſurvey'd
The dubious path of life: before him lay
Here Virtue's rough aſcent, there Pleaſure's flow'ry way.

III. Much

III.

Much did the view divide his wav'ring mind:
Now glow'd his breaſt with gen'rous thirſt of Fame;
Now love of eaſe to ſofter thoughts inclin'd
His yielding ſoul, and quench'd the riſing flame.
When, lo! far off two female forms he ſpies;
Direct to him their ſteps they ſeem to bear:
Both large and tall, exceding human ſize;
Both, far exceding human beauty, fair.
Graceful, yet each with different grace, they move:
This ſtriking ſacred awe; that, ſofter winning love.

IV.

The firſt in native dignity ſurpaſs'd;
Artleſs and unadorn'd ſhe pleas'd the more:
Health o'er her looks a genuine luſtre caſt:
A veſt more white than new-fall'n ſnow ſhe wore.
Auguſt ſhe trod, yet modeſt was her air;
Serene her eye, yet darting heav'nly fire.
Still ſhe drew near; and nearer ſtill more fair,
More mild appear'd: yet ſuch as might inſpire
Pleaſure corrected with an awful fear;
Majeſtically ſweet, and amiably ſevere.

V.

The other dame ſeem'd ev'n of fairer hue;
But bold her mein; unguarded rov'd her eye:
And her flush'd cheeks confeſs'd at nearer view
The borrow'd bluſhes of an artful dye.

All ſoft and delicate, with airy ſwim
Lightly ſhe danc'd along; her robe betray'd
Through the clear texture ev'ry tender limb,
Height'ning the charms it only ſeem'd to ſhade:
And as it flow'd adown, ſo looſe and thin,
Her ſtature ſhew'd more tall; more ſnowy white her ſkin.

VI.

Oft with a ſmile ſhe view'd herſelf aſkance;
Ev'n on her ſhade a conſcious look ſhe threw:
Then all around her caſt a careleſs glance,
To mark what gazing eyes her beauty drew.
As they came near, before that other maid
Approaching decent, eagerly ſhe preſs'd
With haſty ſtep: nor of repulſe afraid,
With freedom bland the wond'ring youth addreſs'd:
With winning fondneſs on his neck ſhe hung:
Sweet as the honey-dew flow'd her enchanting tongue.

VII.

'Dear Hercules, whence this unkind delay?
'Dear youth, what doubts can thus diſtract thy mind?
'Securely follow, where I lead the way;
'And range through wilds of pleaſure unconfin'd.
'With me retire, from noiſe, and pain, and care;
'Embath'd in bliſs, and wrap'd in endleſs eaſe:
'Rough is the road to Fame, thro' blood and war;
'Smooth is my way, and all my paths are peace.

'With

'With me retire, from toils and perils free;
'Leave honor to the wretch! Pleaſures were made
for thee.

VII.

'Then will I grant thee all thy ſoul's deſire;
'All that may charm thine ear, and pleaſe thy ſight:
'All that thy thought can frame, or wiſh require,
'To ſteep thy raviſh'd ſenſes in delight.
'The ſumptuous feaſt, enhanc'd with muſic's ſound;
'Fitteſt to tune the melting ſoul to love:
'Rich odors, breathing choiceſt ſweets around;
'The fragrant bow'r, cool fountain, ſhady grove:
'Freſh flow'rs to ſtrew thy couch, and crown thy head;
'Joy ſhall attend thy ſteps, and eaſe ſhall ſmooth thy
bed.

IX.

'Theſe will I freely, conſtantly ſupply;
'Pleaſures, nor earn'd with toil, nor mix'd with woe:
'Far from thy reſt repining want ſhall fly;
'Nor labor bathe in ſweat thy careful brow.
'Mature the copious harveſt ſhall be thine;
'Let the laborious hind ſubdue the ſoil:
'Leave the raſh ſoldier ſpoils of war to win;
'Won by the ſoldier thou ſhalt ſhare the ſpoil:
'Theſe ſofter cares my bleſt allies employ,
'New pleaſures to invent; to wiſh, and to enjoy."

X.

Her winning voice the youth attentive caught:
He gaz'd impatient on the ſmiling maid;
Still gaz'd, and liſten'd: then her name beſought.
'My name, fair youth, is happineſs, ſhe ſaid;
'Well can my friends this envy'd truth maintain:
'They ſhare my bliſs; they beſt can ſpeak my praiſe:
'Tho' Slander call me *Sloth*——Detraction vain!
'Heed not what Slander, vain detractor, ſays:
'Slander, ſtill prompt true merit to defame;
'To blot the brighteſt worth, and blaſt the faireſt name.'

XI.

By this, arriv'd the fair majeſtic maid:
(She all the while, with the ſame modeſt pace,
Compos'd advanc'd.) 'Know, Hercules,' ſhe ſaid
With manly tone, 'thy birth of heav'nly race;
'Thy tender age, that lov'd inſtruction's voice,
'Promis'd thee gen'rous, patient, brave and wiſe,
'When manhood ſhould confirm thy glorious choice:
'Now expectation waits to ſee thee riſe.
'Riſe, youth, exalt thyſelf and me; Approve
'Thy high deſcent from heav'n; and dare be worthy Jove.

XII.

'But what truth prompts, my tongue ſhall not diſguiſe;
'The ſteep aſcent muſt be with toil ſubdu'd:
'Watchings and cares muſt win the lofty prize
'Propos'd by heav'n; true bliſs and real good.

'Honor rewards the brave and bold alone;
'She ſpurns the tim'rous, indolent, and baſe:
'Danger and toil ſtand ſtern before her throne;
'And guard (ſo JOVE commands) the ſacred place.
'Who ſeeks her muſt the mighty coſt ſuſtain,
'And pay the price of fame; labor, and care and pain.

XIII.

'Wou'd'ſt thou engage the Gods' peculiar care?
'O Hercules, th' immortal Pow'rs adore!
'With a pure heart, with ſacrifice and pray'r
'Attend their altars; and their aid implore.
'Or would'ſt thou gain thy country's loud applauſe,
'Lov'd as her father, as her God ador'd?
'Be thou the bold aſſertor of her cauſe;
'Her voice, in council; in the fight, her ſword.
'In peace, in war, purſue thy country's good:
'For her, bare thy bold breaſt; and pour thy gen-
'rous blood.

XIV.

'Wou'd'ſt thou, to quell the proud and lift th'
oppreſt,
'In arts of war and matchleſs ſtrength excel?
'Firſt conquer thou thyſelf. To eaſe, to reſt,
'To each fond thought of pleaſure, bid farewell.
'The night alternate, due to ſweet repoſe,
'In watches waſte; in painful march, the day:
'Congeal'd, amidſt the rig'rous winter's ſnows;
'Scorch'd by the ſummer's thirſt-inflaming ray.

'Thy harden'd limbs ſhall boaſt ſuperior might:
'Vigor ſhall brace thine arm, reſiſtleſs in the fight.'

XV.

'Hear'ſt thou, what monſters then thou muſt engage;
'What dangers, gentle youth, ſhe bids thee prove?'
(Abrupt ſays *Sloth*) 'ill fit thy tender age
'Tumults and wars; fit age for joy and love.
'Turn, gentle youth, to me, to love and joy!
'To theſe I lead: no monſters here ſhall ſtay
'Thine eaſy courſe: no cares thy peace annoy:
'I lead to bliſs a nearer, ſmoother way.
'Short is my way; fair, eaſy, ſmooth and plain:
'Turn, gentle youth! with me eternal pleaſures reign.'

XVI.

'What pleaſures,—vain miſtaken Wretch, are thine!'
(Virtue with ſcorn reply'd) 'who ſleep'ſt in eaſe
'Inſenſate; whoſe ſoft limbs the toil decline
'That ſeaſons bliſs, and makes enjoyment pleaſe.
'Draining the copious bowl, ere thirſt require;
'Feaſting, ere hunger to the feaſt invite:
'Whoſe taſteleſs joys anticipate deſire;
'Whom luxury ſupplies with appetite:
'Yet nature loaths; and you employ in vain
'Variety and art to conquer her diſdain.

XVII. 'Tho

XVII.

'The ſparkling Nectar cool'd with ſummer ſnows;
'The dainty board with choiceſt viands ſpread;
'To thee are taſteleſs all! Sincere repoſe
'Flies from thy flow'ry couch and downy bed.
'For thou art only tir'd with indolence:
'Nor is thy ſleep with toil and labor bought;
'Th' imperfect ſleep, that lulls thy languid ſenſe
'In dull oblivious interval of thought:
'That kindly ſteals th' inactive hours away
'From the long, ling'ring ſpace, that lengthens out the day.

XVIII.

'From bount'ous nature's unexhauſted ſtores
'Flows the pure fountain of ſincere delights:
'Averſe to her, you waſte the joyleſs hours;
'Sleep drowns thy days, and riot rules the nights.
'Immortal tho' thou art, indignant JOVE
'Hurl'd thee from Heav'n, th' Immortal's bliſsful place;
'For ever baniſh'd from the realms above,
'To dwell on earth, with man's degen'rate race:
'Fitter abode! on earth alike diſgrac'd;
'Rejected by the wiſe, and by the fool embrac'd.

XIX.

'Fond wretch, that vainly weeneſt all delight
'To gratify the ſenſe reſerv'd for thee!
'Yet the moſt pleaſing object to the ſight,
'Thine own fair action, never didſt thou ſee.

'Tho'

'Tho' lull'd with ſofteſt ſounds thou lieſt along;
'Soft muſic, warbling voices, melting lays:
'Ne'er didſt thou hear, more ſweet than ſweeteſt ſong
'Charming the ſoul, thou ne'er didſt hear thy praiſe!
'No——to thy revels let the fool repair:
'To ſuch, go ſmooth thy ſpeech, and ſpread thy tempting ſnare.

XX.

'Vaſt happineſs enjoy thy gay allies!
'A youth, of follies; an old age, of cares:
'Young, yet enervate; old, yet never wiſe;
'Vice waſtes their vigor, and their mind impairs.
'Vain, idle, delicate in thoughtleſs eaſe,
'Reſerving woes for age, their prime they ſpend;
'All wretched, hopeleſs, in the evil days,
'With ſorrow to the verge of life they tend.
'Griev'd with the preſent, of the paſt aſham'd;
'They liv'd, and are deſpis'd: they die, nor more are nam'd.

XXI.

'But with the Gods, and God-like men I dwell;
'Me, his ſupreme delight, th' Almighty Sire
'Regards well-pleas'd: whatever works excell,
'All, or divine or human, I inſpire.
'Counſel with ſtrength, and induſtry with art,
'In union meet conjoin'd, with me reſide:

'My

'My dictates arm, inſtruct, and mend the heart;
'The ſureſt policy, the wiſeſt guide.
'With me true friendſhip dwells: ſhe deigns to bind
'Thoſe gen'rous ſouls alone, whom I before have join'd.

XXII.

'Nor need my friends the various coſtly feaſt;
'Hunger to them th' effects of art ſupplies:
'Labor prepares their weary limbs to reſt; (riſe.
'Sweet is their ſleep: light, chearful, ſtrong they
'Thro' health, thro' joy, thro' pleaſure and renown,
'They tread my paths; and by a ſoft deſcent,
'At length to age, all gently ſinking down,
'Look back with tranſport on a life well-ſpent:
'In which no hour flew unimprov'd away;
'In which ſome generous deed diſtinguiſh'd ev'ry day.

XXIII.

'And when the deſtin'd term at length compleat,
'Their aſhes reſt in peace; eternal Fame
'Sounds wide their praiſe: triumphant over Fate,
'In ſacred ſong for ever lives their name.
'This, Hercules, is Happineſs! Obey
'My voice, and live. Let thy celeſtial birth
'Lift and enlarge thy thought. Behold the way
'That leads to Fame, and raiſes thee from earth
'Immortal! Lo, I guide thy ſteps. Ariſe,
'Purſue the glorious path; and claim thy native ſkies.'

XXIV. Her

XXIV.

Her words breathe fire celeſtial, and impart
New vigor to his ſoul; that ſudden caught
The gen'rous flame: with great intent his heart
Swells full; and labours with exalted thought:
The miſt of error from his eyes diſpell'd,
Through all her fraudful arts in cleareſt light
Sloth in her native form he now beheld,
Unveil'd ſhe ſtood, confeſt before his ſight:
Falſe Siren!——All her vaunted charms, that ſhone
So freſh erewhile, and fair; now withe'd, pale and gone.

XXV.

No more the roſy bloom in ſweet diſguiſe
Maſks her diſſembled looks: each borrow'd grace
Leaves her wan cheek; pale ſickneſs clouds her eyes
Livid and ſunk, and paſſions dim her face.
As when fair Iris has awhile diſplay'd
Her wat'ry arch, with gaudy painture gay;
While yet we gaze, the glorious colours fade,
And from our wonder gently ſteal away:
Where ſhone the beauteous Phantom erſt ſo bright,
Now low'rs the low-hung clowd; all gloomy to the ſight.

XXVI.

But Virtue more engaging all the while
Diſclos'd new charms; more lovely, more ſerene;
Beaming ſweat influence. A milder ſmile
Soften'd the terrors of her lofty mien.

'Lead, Goddeſs, I am thine!' (tranſported cry'd
Alcides): 'O propitious pow'r, thy way
'Teach me, poſſeſs my ſoul; be thou my guide:
'From thee, O never, never let me ſtray!'
While ardent thus the youth his vows addreſs'd;
With all the goddeſs fill'd, already glow'd his breaſt.

XXVII.

The heav'nly maid with ſtrength divine endu'd
His daring ſoul; there all her pow'rs combin'd:
Firm conſtancy, undaunted fortitude,
Enduring Patience, arm'd his mighty mind.
Unmov'd in toils, in dangers undiſmay'd,
By many a hardy deed and bold emprize,
From fierceſt monſters, through her pow'rful aid,
He freed the earth; through her he gain'd the ſkies.
'Twas Virtue plac'd him in the bleſt abode;
Crown'd with eternal youth; among the Gods a God.

SUCH were the methods by which SOCRATES inſtill'd the ſweetneſs of his inſtructions. He was now arrived at the beſt honor, to which a rational ambition can aſpire. He had ſerved his country in battle with the higheſt credit. He had defeated hitherto the malice of his enemies; was adored by ſome, careſſed by many, and admired by all. Add to this, that the oracle of Apollo had pronounced him THE WISEST OF MEN. Notwithſtanding all this, not the leaſt ſpark of vanity, or pride, or arrogance appeared

peared in his compoſition. He ſtill perſiſted in the avowal of his ignorance, refuſed all lucrative employments in the ſtate, and every title that might invidiouſly diſtinguiſh him. Yet there was one thing which he ſeemed to aſcribe to himſelf in a peculiar manner. "There has, ſays he, attended me from my "childhood, by a particular favor of Providence, "an inward Spirit, which, when it calls upon me, "diſſuades me from the thing that I am about to do, "but never perſuades me to any thing."

THIS internal impulſe attended him through life, and never failed in its almoſt prophetic dehortations. It was called the Dæmon of SOCRATES, and was very differently thought of by the ancients. Some judg'd it a real viſion. Some an impoſture: others, the ſuperintending Genius, which they ſuppoſed to be given to every man to be his guide through life: Others, an immediate intelligence or inſpiration. But, upon due reflection, it ſeems to have been nothing more than 'The conſciouſneſs of what was not 'fitting to be purſued or done, ariſing from habitual 'reflections on the nature of *good* and *evil*, and found-'ed upon the paſt experience of cauſes and effects, 'producing probable conjectures of the future.' Yet it muſt be confeſſed that SOCRATES did not care to explain himſelf ſufficiently on this head.

AFTER

AFTER the age of fifty, SOCRATES had many preſſing occaſions for the exerciſe of that patience, which his philoſophy had often inculcated to others. For about that time he married Xantippe, a woman of the moſt turbulent diſpoſition; who endeavoured to make his home as uneaſy to him as poſſible. Yet ſhe frequently and with vexation enough declared, that ſhe could never ruffle the calm temper of her huſband. Being aſked, how he came to chuſe a woman of her diſagreeable and outragious behaviour, he anſwered, that he did it "for the ſame reaſon as thoſe men, who are deſirous to be ſkilled in horſemanſhip, procure not the moſt manageable ſteeds, but ſuch as are moſt fiery and high-ſpirited."

HE was upwards of three ſcore, when he was elected to repreſent his own ward in the great ſenate of five hundred. The people were divided into ten tribes or wards; each of which ſent fifty of their own body, choſen by lot, and the election was annual. The whole buſineſs of the ſtate paſſed through this ſenate. Each tribe had in its turn the whole management for five weeks. Theſe ſenators were called Prytanes, among whom ten preſided, whoſe power laſted for a week and then devolved upon ten others. And out of theſe ten was one elected called the Epiſtate, who held his office but for one day, and only once in his life; the fortreſs, the public money, and the ſafety of the whole republic, being in his

hands. SOCRATES, being a ſenator, was in his turn Epiſtate alſo. While his tribe preſided, an occaſion offered of manifeſting, at the extreme peril of his life, his wiſdom, courage and integrity.

THE Athenians, when greatly diſtreſs'd, had gained a compleat naval victory over the Lacedæmonians at the iſles of Arginuſæ. On the return of the fleet, Theramenes, one of the commanders, accuſed his collegues of impiety and miſmanagement, in having neglected to bury the dead, and ſave the dying. He made a moſt laboured and pathetic oration againſt them, in which he now and then ſtopped, that the cries of thoſe who lamented the dead, might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have eſcaped in a meal-tub, and who depoſed that the people, when drowning, deſired that the Athenians would revenge them on their generals. There were eight or ten of them in all accuſed; but two of them had wiſely fled. For tho' it was paſt all doubt that the misfortune complained of had been owing to the violence of a tempeſt, and not to any neglect in the commanders, yet the people condemned the reſt, and executed them without mercy. Amongſt theſe was the only ſon of the famous Pericles.

AT this trial, the clamour of the populace was ſo vehement, that even thoſe who tacitly diſapproved of

of the inhuman proceding, were compelled through fear to vote for the execution of theſe brave men: all but the great and good SOCRATES, who, (altho' ſeveral demagogues were prepared to bring him to judgment for his refuſal, and the people fiercely demanded it) refuſed to concur with them, and choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to their utmoſt fury, than to break his ſenatorial oath by acting contrary to juſtice.

A little while after, the madneſs of the people turned the other way. Cleophon, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition; upon which, the reſt, who had ſtirred in the affair, fled. But Calixenus, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men, was famiſhed to death.

THE Athenians had ſoon reaſon to regret the loſs of theſe excellent commanders. For, by the careleſſneſs of thoſe who ſucceded them, they were irrecoverably vanquiſhed by the Lacedæmonians under Lyſander; all the places ſubject to them were reduced, Athens itſelf beſieged, and the inhabitants at laſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. They were obliged to deliver up all their ſhips, except twelve, to recall their exiles, to follow the fortune of the Lacedæmonians, to have the fortification of their haven demoliſhed, and the long walls pulled down

to the ſound of all the military muſic in the Spartan army, on the very day of the year on which they had beaten the Perſians at Salamine. Their Democracy was deſtroyed, and a council of thirty perſons ſet over them, with power to make laws, as was pretended, but in fact to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are known in hiſtory by the title of *the thirty tyrants*. They were all creatures of Lyſander, and as they derived their power from conqueſt, ſo exerciſed it with all the wantonneſs of pride, inſolence and cruelty.

But they began, as Cæſar in Salluſt obſerves, with the puniſhment of informers, who by falſe accuſation had taken off honeſt men, and diſturbed the ſtate. But when once they found themſelves ſupported by Callidius, at the head of a Lacedæmonian garriſon, they neglected the bad, and turned their rage againſt the beſt men.

Critias, who had been formerly one of the diſciples of Socrates, was at the head of *the thirty*. And this circumſtance was afterwards turned by his enemies to the diſadvantage of our philoſopher; as if the cruelty now committed had been one effect of his inſtructions. But ſo far he was from abetting his cruelties, that he endeavoured to reſcue Theramenes from it, nor would have deſiſted from the generous attempt, tho' ſurrounded by the guards of the Tyrants, if he had not been diſſuaded by the earneſt prayers of Theramenes himſelf.

THEY themſelves indeed were ſo well convinced of his averſion to them, that they forbad him, on pain of death, to converſe with any man under thirty years of age. And in order to involve him in their own guilt, they commanded him with ſome others to fetch one Leon from Salamine, a man of rank and fortune, that they might put him to death. But this commiſſion he abſolutely refuſed, and gave his reaſon for it, "I will never," ſaid he, "aſſiſt "an act of injuſtice." Chericles, one of the Tyrants, reply'd ſharply, "Doſt thou think, SOCRATES, to "talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer?" "Far from it, (ſaid he) I expect to ſuffer a thouſand "ills, but none ſo great as to do unjuſtly." Thus he, evidently ſhewed, as himſelf obſerves in his defence, that he was not at all afraid of dying, but that he was indeed very much afraid of doing an unjuſt or impious action. And he had certainly been put to this teſt, had not the Tyrants, on a ſudden turn of affairs, been obliged to turn their eyes principally to their own ſecurity.

THESE Tyrants had put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and had driven five thouſand more into baniſhment; and had now filled up the meaſure of their iniquity. Thraſibulus ſuddenly ſeized on Phyla, a caſtle at a very ſmall diſtance from Athens, where the injured citizens flocked to him. He af-

terwards poſſeſſed himſelf of the Piræum, and fortified it as well as he could on the ſudden. The Tyrants attacked him there with all their force, but were obliged to retire with great loſs, leaving their leader Critias, and Hippommachus, another of their number, dead behind them. The people on this preſently expelled the Tyrants, and choſe ten men out of each tribe to govern in their ſtead.

On this revolution the Lacedmæonians reſolved to reconquer Athens and annex it to their own dominions; appointing Lyſander to command in chief. But Pauſanias, king of Sparta, grown jealous of him, determined to obſtruct his meaſures. With this view he procured another army to be raiſed, of which himſelf had the chief command. With this he marched and beſieged the Piræum or haven. Here he entered into a private correſpondence with Thraſibulus, and gave him inſtructions how to behave.

These intrigues ended in a treaty, by which all the Athenians were reſtored to their houſes and privileges, except *the thirty*, *the ten* which had ſucceded them and acted with equal cruelty, and *the eleven* who during the Oligarchy had kept the Piræum. This done, Pauſanias marched off; Thraſibulus entered Athens; and the popular government was reſtored.

The

THE republic of Athens ſcarce began to breath the air of Freedom once more, before the enemies of SOCRATES entered upon the execution of that ſcheme which was to deſtroy him. They gave out that he had inſtructed Critias, their principal oppreſſor, in thoſe arts of cruelty under which they had of late ſo dreadfully ſuffered. This invidious rumour raiſed the clamour of the common people againſt him. The debaucheries of Alcibiades, and a prophanation of the Eleuſinian myſteries, which that nobleman and his looſe companions had ſome time before been guilty of, were now likewiſe charged to the inſtructions of SOCRATES and his innovations in religion.

WHEN the people were ſufficiently prepared by theſe propagated falſhoods, Anytus, Melitus and Lycon undertook the proſecution againſt him; and the ſecond of theſe laid his accuſation in form before the magiſtrates. A court was ſummoned, and judges were appointed.

HIS friends, alarmed for him, offered him their beſt advice and ſervices for his defence; to whom he anſwered with all calmneſs of ſpirit, 'I have 'never done any ill in my life, and I look upon that 'to be the beſt defence. But perhaps, ſaid he, GOD 'himſelf of his abundant goodneſs has done this for 'me, that I ſhould finiſh my life not only at a proper 'age,

'age, but by the moſt eaſy method too.' —— The accuſation ran thus, SOCRATES *violates the law, not believing the Deities whom the city believeth, but introducing other new Gods. He violates the law likewiſe in corrupting youth. The puniſhment Death.*

ON the day of tryal, Melitus opened the proſecution with a mean harangue, in which he was often prompted, and which he got through with difficulty. He alledged that SOCRATES perſuaded his diſciples to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of Critias and Alcibiades; that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, with many things of a like nature. When he had done, Anytus began a long and malicious ſpeech, wherein he was favorably heard; and after him Lycon in a ſet oration ſupported the accuſation.

IT was now SOCRATES's turn to aſcend the orator's deſk in his own defence; which he did, and ſpoke thence that admirable apology for himſelf, which is preſerved in Plato. In this, after having endeavoured to diſengage his auditors from prejudices, having recounted to them his manner of life, the teſtimonies of others, and of the Oracle itſelf concerning him, having by his interrogations confounded Melitus, whoſe contradictions very clearly acquitted him; he took notice of 'The great malevo-

'lence

'lence, which had been excited againſt him, and 'obſerved, that if he was deſtroyed, it was not Me-'litus or Anytus, but the general calumny and envy, 'that deſtroyed him. This, continued he, has de-'ſtroyed many good men, and will many more; 'for it will be no wonder at all, if it ſhould not die 'with me. But ſome one, perchance, will aſk, how 'I can dare to continue to practiſe this method of 'teaching, which engages me in perpetual hazards 'that may prove fatal. But he muſt know, that I 'make little account of death in this caſe, and the 'main conſideration is, Whether what I do be *right* 'or *wrong*; whether it be the practice of a *good* or 'a *bad* man.'

'To fear death is to *ſeem* wiſe, and not to *be* ſo; 'for it is to pretend to underſtand what we know 'nothing of. For no man knows whether death be 'not the greateſt happineſs, which can befall him; 'yet people fear it, as if they knew it to be the 'greateſt evil These things therefore, as I know 'not but they may be good, I will not fear or fly 'from, more than thoſe which I know to be evil. 'Should you therefore acquit me; ſhould you give 'no credit to Anytus, who ſaid that either you 'ought not to have called me to a trial, or condemn 'me, having done it; for, that if you acquitted me, 'your children would be all corrupted by treading 'in my footſteps: I ſay, that if to this you ſhould

'anſwer

'anſwer, O SOCRATES, we give no credit to 'Anytas, we acquit you by our voices, but on this 'condition, that you teach this philoſophy no more 'on pain of death; ſhould you be willing to diſmiſs 'me on ſuch condition; my anſwer is, that I love 'and affect you well; but chuſe rather to obey GOD 'than you. For ſo long as I breathe and have 'ſtrength, I ſhall not ceaſe to philoſophize, exhort-'ing and teaching whomſoever I meet with, in my 'uſual manner.'

'WHAT, thou, O citizen of Athens! a city moſt 'honorable, and moſt excellent in wiſdom and in 'power, doſt thou not bluſh to lay out all thy en-'deavours in the acquiſition of wealth, glory, and 'honor? And haſt all the while no thought or care 'for the procurement of prudence, and truth, and 'a virtuous habit of ſoul? Such is the doctrine that 'I ſhall teach to young and old, to ſtrangers and 'to citizens, but chiefly to you who are citizens, 'as being of nearer relation to me. For this GOD 'himſelf commands; nor ought it, I ſuppoſe, to 'be concealed from you, that no greater good has 'at any time happened in this city, than is this my 'miniſtry, which I diſcharge in obedience to GOD. 'Such is my doctrine; and if this corrupt youth, it 'is very pernicious. But if any man affirm that I 'teach another doctrine, he affirms nothing. And 'on this account I profeſs, Athenians, that whether

'you

'you give credit to Anytus or not, whether you dif-
'miſs me or not diſmiſs me, I ſhall do this and no-
'thing elſe, even tho' I ſhould ſuffer death many
'times. Know alſo, that if for this you put me to
'death, you will hurt yourſelves not leſs than me.
'Melitus and Anytus will never hurt me. That is
'impoſſible. For the better man cannot be hurt by
'the worſe. He may indeed kill me, or baniſh me,
'or calumniate me; and theſe things he and others
'may perchance think mighty evils. But it is a much
'greater, in my judgment, to do what he now does,
'in thus attempting to take a man's life away un-
'juſtly.'

'OTHERS upon trial, have been uſed to move
'you to compaſſion all manner of ways, as if they
'were to ſuffer ſomething very grievous by being de-
'prived of life, or were to be immortal if you ſpar-
'ed them. Such perſons bring a diſgrace upon
'the city; and make foreigners believe that you
'differ nothing from women. You, who are in au-
'thority, ought neither to do nor to ſuffer this; but
'to judge thoſe more worthy of condemnation, who
'by introducing theſe commiſerations make the city
'ridiculous, than ſuch as quietly expect your ſen-
'tence. Nor do I think it right to ſupplicate a
'judge, or to be acquitted by ſupplication; but to
'inform and perſuade him. For a judge does not
'ſit here to ſhew favor, but to judge according to

'the

'the laws. And this he is ſworne to. We ought 'not therefore to accuſtom you to forſwear your-'ſelves, nor ought you to be ſo accuſtomed. For ſo 'neither ſide would act religiouſly. Do not there-'fore expect from me, O Athenians, what I neither 'take to be honeſt, nor juſt, nor holy; particularly 'as I am accuſed by this Melitus of impiety to GOD. 'For ſhould I by ſupplication warp you from your 'oaths, I ſhould teach you to think there are no 'Gods; and by providing ſuch a defence ſhould ac-'cuſe myſelf, as thinking ſo too. But it is far other-'wiſe; for I believe that there are Gods, O Athen-'ians, more than any of my Accuſers, and I reſign 'myſelf to you and to GOD to judge of me, as may 'be beſt both for me and you.'

PLATO went up after him to ſpeak alſo in his defence; but the people would not ſuffer him to deliver what he had to ſay. Then the judges proceeding to give their opinions, he was voted guilty by a very ſmall majority. After which, he reſumed his ſpeech, obſerving that 'by this judgment they had 'given to thoſe who were willing, cauſe to calum-'niate their city, for deſtroying that wiſe man, SO-'CRATES. For they, who ſhall be willing to ſpeak 'ill of you, will call me wiſe, tho' I am not ſo. 'Had you waited a little while, I ſhould have died 'without your aſſiſtance. You ſee my age, how far 'from life, and how near to death it is. I ſay not

'this

'this againſt all of you, but thoſe only who have 'adjudged me to die. To thoſe alſo I ſay this: you 'imagine perhaps that I fall for want of ſuch words 'as I ſhould have perſuaded by, had I judged all 'things to be done and ſaid, which might forward 'my acquittal. Quite otherwiſe. I am condemned 'for want, not of words indeed, but of boldneſs and 'impudence, and becauſe I would not ſay ſuch things 'as are moſt grateful to your ears, weeping and la-'menting and entreating in a manner unworthy of 'me, as others have been uſed to do. But from the 'firſt, I judged it became me to do nothing illiberal. 'Nor do I now repent that I have uſed this method 'of defence. For with this I had rather die, than 'ſurvive with a different behaviour. —— Conſider, 'O Athenians, that it is not ſo difficult to eſcape 'death as infamy. For this runs ſwifter than death. 'And I, tardy through age, am overtaken by the 'ſlower; while my accuſers, who are vigorous and 'nimble are by the ſwifter, which is infamy. I for 'my part, condemned by you, go hence to die; and 'they, condemned by truth, ſuccede to infamy and 'injuſtice. I am content with my puniſhment, and 'ſo are they. Thus perchance it ought to be; nor 'do I think amiſs of it. In the next place I would 'divine to you who have condemned me, as is uſual 'with thoſe who are near death. I ſay then, that 'if you kill me, O Athenians, you will preſently after 'my death ſuffer for it by a much more grievous

'puniſhment than that which you inflict on me. For 'you have now done this, to free yourſelves from a 'troubleſome monitor. But you will find yourſelves 'miſtaken. For, inſtead of one, you will have ma-'ny, whom I reſtrained before, tho' you knew it 'not; and they will be ſo much the more trouble-'ſome to you, as they are younger, and will offend 'you more. In truth, if you think to free yourſelves 'from blame by the deſtruction of men, you greatly 'err. For this is neither a ſufficient nor an ho-'neſt freedom. But this is both the eaſieſt and the 'beſt, not to trouble others, and to behave your-'ſelves, as becomes good men. Having delivered 'this prophecy to you, who have condemned me, 'I have done. But to you, who have judged me 'innocent, I would gladly ſpeak a few words con-'cerning what has happened, before the magiſtrates 'have done, and I go to the place where I muſt die. 'Stay with me that time: for nothing hinders us 'from converſing together. I would ſhew what has 'befallen me, and the import of it. For *that pro-'phetic voice of the Dæmon*, which in times paſt fre-'quently offered itſelf to me, and even upon light 'occaſions, when I was about to do any thing impro-'per, has now been ſilent. Yet what is now come 'to paſs, ſome people would imagine to be the 'greateſt of evils. But neither when I went out 'from home in the morning, nor when I came to 'my trial, nor while I was ſpeaking (for it would

ſometimes

'ſometimes reſtrain me in the midſt of my diſcourſe)
'has this *divine Sign* at all withheld me. I will tell
'you, what I conceive to be the reaſon of this. It
'is, that this affair appears to me to be a real good.
'Nor do we judge by any means aright, when we
'ſuppoſe death to be an evil. I am convinced of
'this from the ſilence of my guide. And one may
'reaſon in this manner, that there is much hope of
'its being good. For death is one of theſe two:
'either a privation of ſenſe, or a tranſmigration
'of the ſoul from one place to another. If there
'be no ſenſe in it, but only a ſort of ſleep in which
'there is no dream, death is a mighty gain. For I
'ſuppoſe, if any one ſhould compare the nights
'and days of his whole life with that one which
'he paſſes ſo placidly without dreaming, and confeſs
'how many of them he has ſpent with more ſweet-
'neſs and ſatisfaction, tho' he were the great king,
'and much leſs a private perſon, that he would
'reckon none in competition with it. I ſay, if this
'be death, 'tis gain. For thus eternity is but a
'ſingle night. But if death be only a paſſage to
'another place, and it be true that the dead are in
'a ſeparate ſtate from us; what can be better than
'this, O judges? For if any one going thither, free
'from thoſe who call themſelves judges here, ſhall
'there find judges of integrity, ſuch as Minos, Rha-
'damanthus, Æacus, Triptolemus, and other Demi-
'gods are ſaid to be, who lived righteouſly; ſhall

'ſuch a removal as this be lightly eſteemed? What 'would a man not give, to be with Orpheus and 'Muſæus, Heſiod and Homer?——I for my part, 'if theſe things be true, would ſuffer many deaths 'for it. How delightful would converſation be with 'Palamedes, and Ajax the ſon of Telamon, and 'others who have ſuffered by unrighteous judgment? 'How pleaſant to confer notes and compare one's 'caſe with theirs.——To aſſociate and converſe 'with Agamemnon, Ulyſſes, Siſyphus, and other 'worthy men and women, were ineſtimable felicity. 'And ſo much the more, as there they die not, and 'are not only happier, than we are, in other reſpects, 'but immortal alſo. You too it becomes, O judges, 'to hope well of death, and to reflect on this one 'truth, that nothing bad can happen to a good 'man either living or dead; and that his affairs can-'not be neglected by the Gods. Nor have theſe 'things happened by chance: but to me it is evident, 'that to die now and be freed from my labors, is 'beſt for me; for which reaſon *the divine Sign* has not 'obſtructed me. On this account I am not angry with 'thoſe who have accuſed or condemned me; tho' 'indeed they did neither with this intent, but with 'a deſign to hurt me. And for this reaſon I have 'room enough to be diſpleaſed. Wherefore, turn-'ing to them once more, I have this to ſay to them. 'I only intreat of you, O men, that if my ſons when 'they are grown up, ſhall be troubleſome to you in

'the

'the way that I have been, you would puniſh them, 'as you do me; particularly, if they ſhall appear to 'you to have more concern for money, or any thing 'elſe, than for Virtue; and if they ſhall be deſirous 'of being thought of ſome conſequence, when they 'are of none, that you would take them to taſk, as I 'have you, for keeping their attention from thoſe 'things which deſerve it moſt, and thinking them-'ſelves ſomething when they are nothing. In doing 'this, you will do well both to me and mine. But 'it is time to be going; for me — TO DIE; and for 'you — TO LIVE. To which of us it will turn 'out beſt, is unknown to all, except to GOD.'

As he was leading away to priſon, Appollodorus, one of his deſciples, lamented and bewailed him bitterly, as condemned to ſuffer unjuſtly. 'What 'then,' ſaid SOCRATES, ſmiling and laying his hand upon his head, 'would you have me ſuffer 'juſtly?' To the reſt of his friends who deplored his fate, he obſerved, that they ought not to weep, for that from his birth he had been condemned to die by nature: that he was not ſnatched away from a ſcene abounding with good, in which caſe there would be reaſon enough for lamentation on all ſides; but releaſed from imminent afflictions, which was matter of joy rather. When he came to the place of his confinement, he was received into the cuſtody of the officer of *the eleven*, being the magiſtrates, ſo

many in number, who had the direction of all capital punishments.

SOCRATES was condemned at the very time that the sacred ship set sail for Delos. This ship went annually in commemoration of the deliverance of Theseus in Crete, and in consequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be infringed, that from the departure of this ship from the port of Athens, to the time of its return, no malefactors were put to death. This sometimes, if the wind was contrary, took up a considerable space, as happened in the case of SOCRATES, who was in prison thirty days before his death. During this time, he amused himself with turning the Fables of Æsop into verse, and in composing an Hymn to Apollo. The rest of his time he spent in conversation with his disciples, who attended him with the most unshaken friendship and fidelity. Some of them offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed; 'Why,' said he, 'do you know any place out of Attica, 'where death never comes?'

TOWARDS the end of his imprisonment, one morning before day, when he awaked, he found Crito sitting by his bed-side. This favourite disciple had been there a considerable time; but, as SOCRATES slept sweetly, was unwilling to disturb him. After some questions and answers, Crito told him that 'he 'was come with bad news, not to you indeed, as

'it

'it appears, but very grievous to me and all your 'friends; for the ſhip will return to-day, according 'to the report of ſome who came from Sunium and 'left her there. To-morrow therefore is the fatal 'day.' 'This is good fortune, Crito,' ſaid he. 'Be 'it ſo, if it pleaſe the Gods. But I believe it will 'not return to-day; for I dreamed juſt now that a 'certain woman appeared to me, whoſe aſpect was 'beautiful and charming, and calling me, ſaid,

'O SOCRATES, *in three*

'*Days hence, the fruitful Pthia thou ſhalt ſee.*'

This ſentence was a quotation from the Iliad of Homer, where Achilles ſays to Ulyſſes, "If I have a 'fair wind I ſhall arrive at Pthia in three days." This was the native country of Achilles, and was interpreted by SOCRATES of that region from which his ſoul originally came, and whither it was now to return. This however gave no comfort to Crito, who earneſtly entreated him ſo far to have compaſſion upon his family and friends, as to quit that loathſome place of confinement, and fly with him to Theſſaly, where he would be well received. He informed him that he had gained over the keeper of the priſon, and all things were provided againſt the following night. SOCRATES fairly debated the legality of this point with him, after due acknowledgments for his intended kindneſs. The reſult of this converſation was, that 'he would not be guilty of 'an unjuſt action: that for any man condemned,

'tho'

'tho' falſly, by the public judgment of his country, 'to fly from it was unjuſt; for that he thereby in-'jured his country and endeavoured to diſſolve the 'policy of it, as much as lay in his power: that he 'was the child of his country, and ought to bear 'its corrections patiently: and that to do otherwiſe 'were more unjuſt, than for a ſon to offer violence 'to his father for having chaſtiſed him, as he might 'conceive wrongfully. Let us therefore,' he concludes, 'leave this conſideration, and procede the 'way that we are in, ſince this way GOD himſelf 'conducts us.'

THE morning after the arrival of the ſacred veſſel, all the friends and diſciples of SOCRATES, who were in the city and in health, reſorted very early to the priſon. When they entered, they found him newly unbound by the magiſtrates, as was cuſtomary on the day of execution, and Xantippe ſitting by him, and holding one of his ſons between her hands. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw them, ſhe cry'd out, 'O SOCRATES, your friends will no more converſe 'with you, nor you with them.' But SOCRATES looking upon Crito, ſaid, 'Let ſome one lead her 'home.' Some of Crito's domeſtics therefore conveyed her away, making loud lamentations as ſhe went. Then SOCRATES, as he ſat by the bed-ſide, drew up his leg, and as he rubbed it with his hand, ſaid, 'How ſtrange a thing, my friends, is this which

men

'men call Pleaſure, and how wonderfully near a-
'kin to pain it is, which ſeems its contrary! For,
'tho' we are not affected by them both at once;
'yet ſo cloſe is their connexion, that he who has
'the one is commonly obliged to take the other
'alſo. I fancy Æſop, if he had thought of this,
'would have wrought it into a Fable in ſome ſuch
'manner as this; that GOD, being willing to recon-
'cile theſe contraries, and not being able to do
'it, had however joined their heads together, and
'that for this reaſon, to whomſoever the one came,
'the other preſently afterwards came alſo. This
'is my caſe at preſent. For that pain, with which
'my leg was affected by being galled with the
'chain, is now ſucceded by pleaſure.' This by de-
grees brought on ſome conſideration upon the ex-
pediency and the benefit of dying. This gave oc-
'caſion to Cebes to aſk, 'Why it ſhould be judged
'unlawful for a man to lay violent hands upon
'himſelf, while death was allowed to be advan-
'tageous to him?' On this SOCRATES took no-
tice of an obſervation made, 'that men were here
'placed upon a poſt of guard, and ought not to diſ-
'charge themſelves or eſcape from it: but this
'obſervation ſeems to me, important as it is, not
'eaſy to be cleared. This however, Cebes, appears
'to be right; that the Gods take care of us, and
'that we are their property. If one of your ſlaves
'then was to kill himſelf without your permiſſion,

'would

'would you not be angry, and puniſh him if you 'could? Wherefore it ſeems not reaſonable that a 'man ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf, before GOD has laid 'ſome neceſſity upon him, as now upon me.' This was the preliminary to that moſt admirable diſſertation on the immortality of the Soul, which is preſerved by Plato, and is one of the moſt valuable remains of antiquity. He concludes it thus: 'It be-'comes us therefore to have a good hope of the ſoul, 'whoſoever of us, neglecting the pleaſures and adorn-'ments of the body, ſhall ſtudy to improve and grace '*that* with the proper ornaments of temperance, juſ-'tice, fortitude, liberty, and truth; as being ready 'to depart hence, whenſoever his Fate ſhall call 'upon him. For you, O Simmias and Cebes, and 'all the reſt of you, muſt depart hence in proper 'time. But me, as ſome Tragedian would ſay, my 'Fate now calls upon. And it is nearly time for me 'to ſtep aſide to bathe. For I think it better to 'drink the poiſon after the bath; that we may ſave 'the women the trouble of waſhing the body.' Having ſo ſaid, Crito aſked him, 'Have you any com-'mands, either for theſe who are preſent, or for me, 'with reſpect to your children, or any thing elſe? 'Or what do you chiefly wiſh that we ſhould do?' He anſwered, 'I have nothing new to ſay to you, 'but what I am ever ſaying; that if you ſhall take 'care of yourſelves, you will do the moſt acceptable 'thing both to me and to yourſelves. But if you

'ſhall

'ſhall neglect that, refuſing to conform your lives
'to thoſe precepts which I have all along delivered
'to you, the conceſſions made in diſputation will
'nothing profit you.' 'That,' ſaid Crito, 'ſhall be
'our care. But how would you be buried?' 'Even
'how you will, ſaid he, if you can catch me too,
'and I don't ſlip out of your hands.' At the ſame
'time ſmiling and turning to them, 'I can't perſuade
'Crito, ſaid he, that I am this SOCRATES who now
'converſe with you; but he takes me to be that car-
'caſe which he is to ſee by and by, and therefore
'aſks how he is to bury me. But what I have inſiſt-
'ed all this while upon, that when I ſhall have
'drank the poiſon, I ſhall be no longer with you,
'but ſhall depart to the felicities of the bleſſed, there-
'by comforting both you and myſelf, I ſeem to have
'ſaid to little purpoſe to this Crito. Be ye ſure-
'ties therefore for me to Crito; but not in the man-
'ner that he was for me before the judges: for he
'engaged that I ſhould ſtand to the judgment, but
'do you engage that I will ſtand to nothing, but
'be gone; that Crito may bear my death the more
'eaſily, and not lament me as ſuffering terrible
'things, when he ſhall ſee my body burned or buried;
'nor ſay at my funeral that SOCRATES is carried out
'or interred. Believe me, my dear Crito, 'tis an
'error in ſpeech, and affects our ſouls. For we
'ought to be confident, and to expreſs it thus, that
'my body is to be buried; and buried let it be,

'as

'as ſhall pleaſe you, 'and you ſhall judge moſt fit-
'ting.'

So ſaying, he roſe up and entered a cloſet, as to to bathe; and Crito followed him; but directed the reſt to wait. They waited accordingly, reflecting among themſelves upon all that had paſſed, and complaining of their hard fortune which obliged them to paſs the reſt of their time as orphans, deprived of a moſt dear parent. When he had bathed, his children were brought to him. For he had two ſons that were little, and one pretty big. The women of the family came with them. When SOCRATES had talked to them in the preſence of Crito, and ordered what he thought proper, he commanded the women and children away, and returned to the company much about ſun-ſet: for he had ſtay'd a good while within.

HE ſat down and was beginning to ſpeak, when the ſerjeant of *the eleven* came in, and thus accoſted him: 'I believe, O SOCRATES, that I ſhall not find 'that ſtrangeneſs in you, which I have been uſed to 'obſerve in other perſons. For they are enraged 'and curſe me when I tell them the poiſon muſt be 'drank; for ſo the magiſtrates will have it. But 'I have experienced you upon this occaſion the moſt 'generous, the mildeſt and the beſt of men, that ever 'came into this place; and am aſſured that you will

'bear

'bear no ill-will to me, for that which others are 'the cauſe of. You know then the meſſage that I 'bring. Farewell, and endeavour to bear patiently 'what you cannot remedy.' At this he burſt into tears and departed. SOCRATES looked at him as he went, and, 'Fare thee well, ſaid he, we will do 'as thou haſt ſaid.' And turning to the company, 'How civil, ſaid he, this man is! And not only 'on this, but on many other occaſions, he would 'ſalute me, ſometimes converſe with me, and was 'ever a mighty good man. And you ſee how cour-'teouſly he condoles me now! But come, Crito, 'let us do as he bids us, and if the poiſon be ready, 'let ſome one bring it hither; if not, let it be got 'ready.' 'I think, ſaid Crito, the ſun has not yet 'left the mountains and is ſcarce ſet. I have known 'ſome, when the order has been given, to drink it 'very late, after a free ſupper and full cups, and 'amidſt the enjoyment of their friends. Wherefore 'be not ſo haſty; there is yet time enough.' 'They 'have, Crito, their reaſons for ſo doing, ſaid So-'CRATES. For they think to gain time by it. But 'what ſhall I gain by drinking it a little later? Only 'become ridiculous to myſelf, as covetous of life, and 'ſparing of that, of which I am no longer maſter. 'But pray, let it be as I ſay.' Crito then made ſigns to a ſervant who ſtood near. He went out and after a little ſtay returned with the man, who was to give the poiſon, with the cup in his hand.

SOCRATES, looking at him, ſaid, 'Tell me, good 'man, for I ſuppoſe you have ſome ſkill in theſe 'matters, what I muſt do?' 'Nothing, he anſwered, 'but walk about after you have drank it, 'till you 'perceive your legs grow weary: then lie down.' This ſaid he reached out the cup to him. SOCRATES took it very chearfully, without the leaſt diſturbance neither changing color nor countenance. But looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, as his manner was, 'What 'ſay you, (ſaid he) may I not ſpill ſome of this by 'way of libation?' His anſwer was, that they had prepared but juſt enough for the purpoſe. 'I under-'ſtand you, ſaid he; but I may, and muſt pray the 'Gods to make my paſſage happy; which alſo I be-'ſeech them to do.' At the ſame time moving it to his lips, he drank it down with eaſe and alacrity. Moſt of thoſe who were preſent, had hitherto, after a ſort withheld their tears; but when they ſaw him drinking the poiſon, and that he had drank it up, they could forbear no longer, but wept largely. SOCRATES obſerving this, ſaid, 'O ſtrange men, What 'is it you mean? I juſt now ſent away the women 'that there might be none of this. For I have heard 'that we ſhould leave this life with gratulation and 'applauſe. Be quiet then, and take it patiently.' At this reproof they were aſhamed and ſuppreſſed their tears. After he had walked awhile, perceiving his legs to fail, he lay down upon his back, as the executioner had directed; who preſently after examined

examined with the touch, his feet and legs; then ſqueezing his foot hard, aſked him, if he felt it. He anſwered, No. He did the like to his legs, and ſo upwards by degrees, ſhewing them how the parts ſucceſſively grew cold and ſtiff, and telling them, that when that chillneſs came to his heart, he would die. And his entrails were now cold, when uncovering himſelf, for his gown was thrown over him, he ſpoke theſe, which were his laſt words, 'O 'Crito, we owe a cock to Æſculapius, pay it, and 'neglect it not.' 'It ſhall be done, anſwered Crito; 'Is there any thing elſe?' But he made no reply. A few minutes after, he expired. The executioner uncovered him, and his eyes were fixt, which Crito cloſed. This was the end of the beſt, the wiſeſt, and the juſteſt man that Athens had produced; when he was upwards of ſeventy.

THE laſt command of this philoſopher for the offering of a cock to Æſculapius, has been too rigorouſly condemn'd by ſome, and very improperly defended by others. We do not conceive that he intended it as a ſacrifice to a certain God whoſe name was Æſculapius: neither can we imagine that he would on any account obſerve a piece of Grecian ſuperſtition, when it was contrary to his real ſentiments. For that would have been quite unworthy of SOCRATES in his laſt moments; who at any time would have ſuffered death before he would have pro-

moted a falſhood knowingly. For ſurely SOCRATES was no temporizer. But the cock was the ſymbol of that vigilance, which is neceſſary to the cure of diſorders; and this he ordered, as the uſual and proper ſacrifice to be offered to the GOD OF HEALTH, as a grateful thankſgiving for his deliverance from the infirmities of the body.

BUT it appears from this very dialogue of Phædo, concerning the immortality of the ſoul, that he did believe a ſubordination of Gods. Yet his ſentiments of the FIRST CAUSE, and his veneration for him, were truely noble and exemplary. He did believe the immortality of the ſoul; yet he does not conſider it as a point of abſolute certainty from reaſon, but of the higheſt probability, and a ſufficient ground of comfortable hope to the good and virtuous. His precepts contained the moſt excellent morality, and he was the living example of his own doctrine. Tho' he had in a manner ſpent his whole life at Athens, his fame had reached remote nations, and he was ſtrongly invited by Archelaus, king of Macedon, to reſide at his court. But SOCRATES refuſed all correſpondence with that prince, on account of the violences which he had been guilty of in the beginning of his reign. For he diſdained a thought of giving the leaſt countenance to immorality or injuſtice, and was in truth the greateſt honor to human nature of all the ſages whom the heathen world produced.

O'ER

O'ER all ſhone out the great ATHENIAN SAGE,
And father of Philoſophy: the ſun,
From whoſe white blaze emerg'd each various ſect
Took various teints, but with diminiſh'd beam.
Tutor of Athens! He, in ev'ry ſtreet,
Dealt priceleſs treaſure. Goodneſs his delight,
Wiſdom his wealth, and glory his reward.
Deep through the human heart, with playful art,
His ſimple queſtion ſtole; as into truth
And ſerious deeds he ſmil'd the laughing race;
Taught moral happy life, whate'er can bleſs,
Or grace mankind; and what he taught he was.

THOMPSON.

THE Athenians were quickly ſenſible of their own injuſtice, and the damage which the community ſuffered by the death of this great and good man. To make ſome ſort of attonement for it, his principal accuſer Melitus was condemned to die, and the reſt to perpetual exil. A public mourning was decreed; and his ſtatue, the workmanſhip of the inimitable Lyſippus was erected at the expence of the ſtate, in the moſt eminent part of the city.

CHAP. VII.

Of AGESILAUS.

AGESILAUS was the ſon of Archidamus, one of the beſt kings that Sparta ever produced. On the death of his father, his elder brother Agis ſucceded to the throne. Agis had a ſon named Leotychides, whoſe legitimacy he had always queſtioned. But in his laſt moments he did acknowledge him for his lawful ſon, moved thereto by his tears and earneſt entreaties. At the ſame time that he did this, he beſought the Lacedæmonians who were preſent to bear witneſs of the ſincerity of his declaration; and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have raſhly ſaid of his ſuſpecting the legitimacy of Leotychides. But this recognition came too late; and Leotychides thereby loſt not only his pretenſions to the crown, but even to his paternal eſtate.

AGESILAUS was a man of exemplary virtues and great capacity, and had many friends; and amongſt the reſt, Lyſander who reduced Athens, and whoſe intereſt

intereſt was very powerful. Tho' the laws of Lacedæmon, which began now to be much relaxed, did not compell the heirs of the crown to endure the ſharp diſcipline of the Lycurgic education, yet the younger children of kings (and ſuch was AGESILAUS) were as ſeverely bred as the meaneſt Lacedæmon. This proved a ſingular happineſs to the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, who, for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education.

HIS temper was compounded of qualities which very rarely meet. For he was amiable and beloved, yet ambitious and aſpiring. Thus he was brave, active, and of high ſpirit; but at the ſame time wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps beyond compariſon. For he preferred the intereſt of Sparta, not only to his own intereſt, but to his peace, to his ſafety, his honor and his reputation. He allowed all things to be fitting, which ſhe commanded, and placed his utmoſt happineſs in his capacity of ſerving her, not only on ſuch occaſions as were attended with luſtre and eclat, but in thoſe which had neither honor nor profit to recommend them. It had been wonderful to have ſeen a prince of this character without the eſteem and friendſhip of his own citizens.

BUT the regard which the famous Lyſander had for him, was of very early date. For Lyſander was his lover: which uſage among the Greeks we have explained in the life of Socrates. And this friendſhip continued when AGESILAUS was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne.

THERE was but one thing, that gave this prince and his friends any trouble. This was an Oracle, which one Diopithes produced to the following effect;

'Tho' great thy empire, Sparta, yet refrain
'From a lame Rule; which come, thou ſhalt ſuſtain
'Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
'Of war, nor force can quell, nor ſkill aſſuage.'

THIS was thought to point at AGESILAUS, who had one leg ſhorter than the other. But Lyſander out-did Diopithes the interpreter in his own ſcience. 'The Oracle cannot poſſibly mean the lameneſs in 'the king's leg. That, ſaid he, is a thing which the 'Gods cannot hate, becauſe they have cauſed it. 'The lameneſs muſt be in the title. Beware there-'fore, O Lacedæmonians, of placing an illegitimate 'king on the throne, nay, even one whoſe birth is 'but ſuſpected. For that is moſt likely to be the '*lame Rule* or reign, hinted at by the Oracle.'

LYSANCER'S

LYSANDER's explanation, backed by his authority, had the deſired effect. The ſenate and people excluded Leotychides alike from the kingdom and the private eſtate of his father. Xenophon ſays, that his claim was deſtroyed by three invincible arguments. The firſt was, the repeated declarations of his ſuppoſed father: ſecondly, his mother, who ought to have known beſt, averred the ſame thing: Laſtly, that Neptune had by an earthquake (which was always attributed to this God of the ſea) forced Agis out of bed from his wife, who thereupon abſtained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term Leotychides was born.

AGESILAUS beſtowed half the eſtate of his brother Agis, the late king, upon his relations by the mother's ſide; who, tho' perſons of great merit, were in very low circumſtances. By this ſeaſonable generoſity he gained the hearts of the people. His behaviour was equally acceptable to the Ephori and the ſenate. He treated them with the utmoſt civility, and the greateſt confidence and affection. He was ever ſtudious to oblige thoſe, who had been of the oppoſite party at his election. He preferred them, as often as their merit gave them a reaſonable pretence, and relieved them under misfortunes. In truth, he acted with ſuch prudence and benignity, that at laſt the Ephori, ſeeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage at his good ones, and laid a

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mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, that is, for monopolizing the affections of the people. This, however ſingular it may ſeem, was conſonant enough to the conſtitution of Sparta.

THE origin of theſe magiſtrates, called Ephori, is aſcribed to Theopompus, king of Sparta; who ſeeing the neceſſity of leaving magiſtrates to execute the laws, when the kings were in the field, as they commonly were, inſtituted theſe, as deputies or aſſiſtants. But they ſoon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary lorded it over them. They were five in number choſen out of their own body, and were a kind of popular tribunes, placed as checks on the ſenate and kings. The election of them was annual, and their authority boundleſs. They preſided in the aſſemblies, collected the ſuffrages, declared war and made peace, treated with foreign ſtates, determined the number of forces, appointed the funds for them, diſtributed rewards and puniſhments, and fined, and even occaſionally put to death, the kings themſelves.

BEFORE AGESILAUS was well ſettled on the throne, his country found itſelf exceedingly diſtreſſed. In conſequence of the aſſiſtance which their general Clearchus and the forces under him, had given to Cyrus the younger, Artaxerxes had declared himſelf their enemy; had ſent relief of men or money to their

their rivals for power at Athens and in Bœotia; and and had determined to reduce all the Greek cities in Asia, of which Sparta had assumed to herself the protection. On this account they had first sent Thymbro, and, after him, Dercyllidas into Asia. This last commander at the head of seven thousand men had brought Tissaphernes to terms; and the Greek cities were to remain free, 'till the treaty was either ratified or disavowed by the king of Persia and the state of Sparta.

YET presently after, the great king began to make mighty preparations, both by sea and land, as for the invasion of Greece. On this AGESILAUS offered, if he might have but thirty Spartans, two thousand new-raised Helotes, and six thousand of the allied troops, to pass into Asia, and engage either to procure a peace, or cut out so much work for the Persian, that he should have little leisure or inclination to march into Greece. This proposal of carrying the war into the enemy's country was soon after embraced, and AGESILAUS was declared general of Greece.

BUT before any resolution was taken, as the king was sacrificing for his country, according to custom, the Aruspex or diviner, from the bowels of three several victims, declared that there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him and all the magistrates

giſtrates of Sparta. Soon after, this conſpiracy was diſcovered to the bottom by the information of one of the perſons concerned. Hereupon the Ephori and ſenate took ſuch quick and effectual meaſures, tho' with ſome little injury to the laws, that all the conſpirators were ſuddenly removed out of the way.

At the motion of Lyſander, who burned with an impatient deſire of being in Aſia, which had been the ſcene of many of his great actions, the number of forces already ſpecified were decreed to Agesilaus. But the king deferred his acceptance of the command, 'till a council of thirty was aſſigned him. At the head of which was Lyſander.

While the army was drawing together about Geraſtus, Agesilaus went with ſome friends to Aulis, where the thoughts of his expedition, in all probability, ſuggeſted to his mind a dream; wherein he was admoniſhed to imitate Agamemnon in ſacrificing, inaſmuch as he was become his ſucceſſor and was on the point of going general in chief of the Greek forces againſt the Barbarians, an office which had never been borne but by Agamemnon and himſelf. Agesilaus, in compliance with this viſion, reſolved to ſacrifice. But reflecting on the barbarity which Agamemnon had been guilty of, he ſubſtituted an Hind, inſtead of a Virgin; and having cauſed it to be crowned with garlands, directed his own

own diviner to ſolemnize the ſacrifice. The Bæotians, hearing of this and being extremely provoked that in their territories he ſhould employ one of his Attendants, inſtead of the Sacrificer appointed by them, ſent deputies to forbid him to ſacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws. The deputies, having delivered their meſſage in the temple of Aulis, and perceiving that little heed was given to it, went directly to the altar, and threw the ſacrifice off from it upon the ground. As trifling as this circumſtance may ſeem, it afterwards proved the occaſion of a war, which ſubverted the Spartan empire over Greece, and had well nigh deſtroyed her ſtate.

At this time AGESILAUS was ſo much diſcompoſed, that he immediately hoiſted ſail and bore away for Aſia, without ſtaying for any other rites, or offering any other ſacrifice. This would be naturally conſtrued at that time of day, that, as the ceremony was left imperfect, the ſucceſs of the expedition would prove ſo too.

ON his arrival in Aſia, he found things in a ſituation which he neither expected, nor could foreſee. At Sparta he was king: but here Lyſander was treated as if he had been ſomewhat more. All reſpect, all application, was paid to him. And he received it rather with the haughtineſs of a deity, than with that complaiſance which is natural to man. The reſt of

the commanders firſt ſtomached it. They grew uneaſy at finding themſelves degraded from being councellors to AGESILAUS, into officers, or rather miniſters of one of their Colleagues. They complained therefore to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy. For he denied every ſuit which Lyſander made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him. This partly had, and partly had not the intended effect. For as ſoon as the Greeks ſettled in Aſia perceived it, they no longer moved their ſuits by Lyſander, but continued notwithſtanding to pay him as much reſpect as before. This nettled the king, tho' he was not naturally envious. Whereupon he appointed this great man overſeer of his proviſions; and to inſult the Ionians, ſaid openly, 'Let them now go, and pay their court 'to my butcher.' Lyſander quickly took an oppor-'tunity of coming to an eclairciſſement; for, the firſt time they were alone, he addreſſed the king thus, 'In truth, AGESILAUS, you know very well how to 'leſſen your friends.' 'Yes, anſwered the king, 'when they affect to be greater than I; nor can it 'be thought unjuſt, that thoſe ſhould have power 'with me, who moſt concern themſelves in promot-'ing my power.' 'Sir, replied Lyſander, very mo-'deſtly, you are pleaſed to exerciſe a greater liber-'ty in ſpeaking, than I ever did in acting. But I 'beſeech you, ſir, for the ſake of thoſe ſtrangers, 'who have their eyes upon us, to aſſign me that poſt,

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'wherein I may be leaſt ſuſpected by you, and have 'it moſt in my power to render you ſervice.' The king thereupon appointed him ambaſſador to the allies of Sparta near the Helleſpont. This office he executed with great diligence and integrity. He prevailed upon one Mithridates a Perſian, who was at variance with Pharnabazus the governor of the province, to revolt with a great body of troops, and to join AGESILAUS. However, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himſelf to return to Greece, highly diſſatisfied not only with his treatment, but with the government of his country alſo; which he reſolved to overturn, if it was in his power.

AGESILAUS, on his coming upon the coaſt of Aſia, had landed at Epheſus with a conſiderable body of troops, before any of the king's officers had the leaſt intimation of his deſign: with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition had the whole been managed at Sparta. He took the field with ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; and finding no body in a condition to oppoſe him, carried all before him. Hereupon Tiſſaphernes, the king's lieutenant in thoſe parts, ſent a meſſenger to him, to enquire for what end he was come into Aſia, and why he had taken up arms? AGESILAUS anſwered, that he was come to aſſiſt the Greek inhabitants of Aſia, and to reſtore them to their ancient liberty. Tiſſaphernes,

quite unprepar'd for a war, aſſured AGESILAUS that his maſter would grant him what he demanded, provided that he committed no acts of hoſtility, 'till the return of an expreſs which he had ſent to court. AGESILAUS believed him. A truce was agreed on for three months, and ſworn to on both ſides. But Tiſſaphernes, without any regard to his oath, made no other uſe of this ceſſation, than to aſſemble troops on all ſides; and ſent to the king for more forces. AGESILAUS was not uninformed of this, yet preſerved the truce on his part moſt religiouſly. Thus, while he rendered the faith of his enemy ſuſpected by all, he throughly confirmed them in the opinion which they had conceived of his own inviolable oath and honor.

TISSAPHERNES, having now received the ſuccours which he had ſent for, was peremptory in his next meſſage to AGESILAUS, that he ſhould immediately depart Aſia, and denounced war againſt him in caſe of a refuſal. This denunciation greatly alarmed the Lacedæmonians and their allies. For they believed themſelves in no condition to oppoſe the very numerous army of Tiſſaphernes, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the Perſian empire. As for AGESILAUS himſelf, he heard the heralds of Tiſſaphernes with a gay and eaſy air, and deſired them to tell their maſter, that "he was "under great obligations to him for having made

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"the Gods, by his perjury, enemies to Perſia, and "friends to Greece."

He next ordered his troops to be in readineſs to march; and ſent orders to the cities, which lay in his way to Caria, to provide all neceſſaries for the army, which ſhould be regularly paid for, on pain of military execution. He gave directions alſo to the Ionians, Æolians, and Helleſpontine Greeks, to ſend away to Epheſus the ſupplies which were to take the field with him.

As Agesilaus was weak in horſe, and the mountainous country of Caria was not much adapted for cavalry to act in; and further, becauſe his own eſtate and habitation lay there, and he ſuppoſed Agesilaus to bear a perſonal enmity to him for his fraudulent behaviour; Tiſſaphernes took it for granted that this would indeed be the ſcene of action. He therefore diſpatched thither all his foot, and led his horſe into the plain of the Meander, with deſign to intercept the Greeks, and tread them down with his cavalry, upon the march.

But Agesilaus took juſt the contrary route, and marching to the left, met the ſupplies, which he had directed to join him at Epheſus, and proceeded with all expedition to Phrygia. As this invaſion

was entirely unexpected, he over-ran a great part of the province without any oppoſition, took many cities, and loaded with an immenſe booty, marched back by the ſea-coaſt into Ionia, and wintered at Epheſus. By this campaign he both enriched his friends, and ſhewed Tiſſaphernes how much his ſuperior he was in policy and ſtratagem. And while their own intereſt endeared him to his ſoldiers, the care and humanity, which he extended towards all his priſoners, rendered him well-ſpoken of and beloved even by his enemies.

But as Pharnabazus, by the great multitude of his cavalry, protected the plain country of Phrygia, he ſaw the neceſſity of providing a formidable body of horſe, that he might not ſeem to make a prædatory war of it. In every city therefore, whither his power extended, he enquired out thoſe who kept horſes, and gave public notice that every one, who ſhould ſupply a horſe and arms, and an able man, ſhould be exempt from ſervice. An opportunity which perſons of property gladly embraced. Where any city was famous for the breed of Horſes, there he procured as great a number of riders as poſſible, judging that the inhabitants of ſuch would always make the beſt horſemen. And by theſe means he very ſoon collected a reſpectable body of them.

As the ſpring approached, he drew all his levies to Epheſus. Here the troops, both horſe and foot, were continually exerciſed, and rewards were liberally diſtributed amongſt thoſe, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their activity and expertneſs. The city itſelf was a ſight moſt worthy of admiration; for in every part of it was a continual market of arms and horſes. The houſes were filled with ſmiths and workmen of every kind, who were buſied in preparing all neceſſaries for the troops; and the whole place had the appearance of an armory.

When the king and his ſoldiers left the uſual places of exerciſe, they marched in proceſſion with crowns upon their heads to the temple of Diana, where they hung up their wreaths to the Goddeſs. Thus where men have a due ſenſe of religion, and attend to their military exerciſes, and ſtudy obedience to their officers; how is it poſſible that the beſt hope ſhould not be entertained. As he conceived that a valuable addition of courage would accrue to his men from a rational contempt of the enemy, he ordered a few captives, taken by the Maroders, to be ſold naked. When the ſoldiers obſerved how plump and fair they were, from luxurious indolence and ſoft cloathing and the continual uſe of vehicles, they gave up all apprehenſions and conceived their enemies to be little better than women. And now Ageſilaus once more gave orders to all his forces to hold

hold themſelves in readineſs to march; for that he intended to lead them to the richeſt part of the country by the ſhorteſt rout.

When Tiſſaphernes received intelligence of this, he took it for granted that the king intended to deceive him again, and that his real deſign was now upon Caria. He therefore marched all his infantry to the defence of that province, and made his cavalry to encamp as before, in the plains of the Meander. But Ageſilaus made an irruption into the territory of Sardis, the capital of Lydia; and marching for three days together in a country where an enemy was not to be ſeen, amaſſed a prodigious quantity of forage and proviſion of every kind for his army. On the fourth day the enemy's horſe began to appear. Their commander directed the officer, who had charge of the baggage, to paſs the Pactolus and mark out a camp. In the mean time himſelf attacked the Greeks, who were diſperſed about the country for plunder, and ſlew many of them. As ſoon as Ageſilaus was apprized of this, he ſent out his cavalry to their aſſiſtance; on whoſe advance the Perſians drew up in order of battle. The king, finding that their infantry was not come up (for they were ſeveral days march behind) judged this a favorable opportunity for action, and having ſacrificed, attacked them with all his forces. The diſpute was not long or obſtinate. Some of the Perſians

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were puſhed into the river, and the reſt were put to flight. The Greeks purſued, and made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp. The king then marched to Sardis, burning and laying waſte the whole country round it. And in this and the preceding campaign he collected ſo much valuable ſpoil from the ſubjects of Perſia, that the tenth of it, which was conſecrated to the Delphian Apollo, amounted to more than a hundred talents.

The loſs of this battle greatly incenſed the Perſian monarch againſt Tiſſaphernes, and increaſed the ſuſpicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had ſomething elſe in view beſides his maſter's intereſt. At the ſame time Conon, who was now admiral of the Perſian fleet, arriving at court heightened his diſpleaſure with new complaints againſt him. For he had deprived the ſoldiers on board the fleet of their pay, and thereby diſabled him from doing the king any Service. Queen Paryſatis, the king's mother, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred againſt all thoſe who had any ſhare in the death of her ſon Cyrus, did not fail on this occaſion to aggravate the charges brought againſt him. Hereupon the king reſolved to put him to death; but being afraid to attack him openly, by reaſon of the great authority which he had in Aſia, he charged Tithrauſtes, captain of the guards, with that important commiſſion, giving him at the ſame time

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two letters. One of theſe was directed to Tiſſaphernes, and empowered him to carry on the war againſt the Greeks, in what manner he thought beſt. The other was addreſſed to Ariæus, governor of Lariſſa, commanding him to aſſiſt Tithrauſtes with his counſel and all his forces, in ſeizing Tiſſaphernes. On the receipt of this mandate, Ariæus deſired Tiſſaphernes, to come to him, that they might confer together concerning the operations of the enſuing campaign. Tiſſaphernes, ſuſpecting nothing, went to him with a guard only of three hundred men. But while he was bathing, according to the Perſian cuſtom, and diſarmed, he was ſeized and put into the hands of Tithrauſtes, who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off and ſent into Perſia. The king gave it to Paryſatis: an acceptable preſent to a lady of her vindictive ſpirit.

Upon the death of Tiſſaphernes, Tithrauſtes, who was appointed to ſuccede him, ſent great preſents to Agesilaus, telling him that, the cauſe of the war being removed, and the author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accomodation: that the king his maſter would allow the Greek cities in Aſia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the cuſtomary tribute; which was all that the Lacedæmonians required when they firſt began the war.

AGESILAUS answered, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from Sparta. However, as he was willing to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabazus; and Tithraustes advanced thirty talents to defray the charges of the march. As he was on the way thither, he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet, as well as the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in Asia, both by sea and land.

THIS drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral of it, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother in-law, than he ought to have been. For tho' Pisander was a man of great courage and approved valour, yet he was not in other respect equal to that important trust, as the event sufficiently proved.

HAVING settled the maritime affairs, AGESILAUS pursued his design of invading Phrygia, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money; maintaining his army on the territories of Pharnabazus, in great affluence. From thence he marched into Paphlagonia, being invited thither by Spithridates,

Spithridates, a noble Perſian who had revolted from the king. There he concluded a league with Cotys, king of that country; and returning into Phrygia, took the ſtrong city of Daſcylium, and there wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus; obliging the adjacent country to ſupply his army with all manner of proviſions.

TITHRAUSTES, finding that AGESILAUS was for carrying on the war in Aſia, ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with large ſums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war againſt the Lacedæmonians. This ſtratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth and others, entering into a confederacy, obliged the Lacedæmonians at laſt to recall their king.

BUT in the mean time, and in the beginning of the next ſpring, as AGESILAUS was ready to take the field, Pharnabazus invited him to an interview, and as the invitation was accepted, after expatiating on the ſervices which he had done for the Lacedæmonians in their war with the Athenians, reproached them with ingratitude in the bittereſt terms: ſince, in return for ſo many favors, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at Daſcylium, which were his own hereditary eſtate. All this was very true. And AGESILAUS and the Lacedæ-

Lacedæmonians who attended him, were to ſuch a degree aſhamed at finding themſelves ſo juſtly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what anſwer to make, nor how to excuſe ſuch an ungenerous proceding. However, to make him the beſt amends they could, they obliged themſelves by a ſolemn promiſe, not to invade any of the provinces under his government, ſo long as there were others into which they might carry the war againſt the Perſian king. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew, with a deſign to invade the upper parts of Aſia, and proſecute the war in the very heart of the Perſian empire.

But while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition, a meſſenger arrived at the camp from Sparta, acquainting him, that the Ephori recalled him to defend his own country, againſt which ſeveral ſtates of Greece had formed a ſtrong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haſte thither he could: but complained at his departure that the Perſians had driven him out of Aſia with thirty thouſand Archers, alluding to the Perſian Darics, which were pieces of gold, ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an archer.

No leſs praiſe is due to the behaviour of Agesilaus in the cabinet, than in the field. For when he entered Aſia, the Greek cities there were

rent into factions, and rendered miſerable by their inteſtine diviſions. But by his endeavours a perfect reconciliation was atchieved amongſt them all, without having recourſe either to baniſhment or ſlaughter. The Aſiatic Greeks were ſo ſenſible of their obligations to him on theſe accounts, that they regretted his departure as the loſs of their father and their friend. And to give inconteſtible evidence of their affection, they ſpontaneouſly attended him into Greece, and chearfully paid back the aſſiſtance, which they had ſo lately received; tho' they knew that the conteſt was to be with enemies as brave as themſelves.

HAVING paſſed the Helleſpont, he took the ſame rout which Xerxes, king of Perſia had done, when he invaded Greece. Only the ſame march, in which the Perſian had employd a whole year, the Lacedæmonian performed in leſs than a month: ſo eager was he to advance to the relief of his country. When he had reached the confines of Theſſaly, the Lariſſæans, Cranonians, Scotuſæans, and Pharſalians, who were the allies of the Bœotians, and indeed the Theſſalians in general, infeſted his march. At firſt he had led his army in a ſquare body, having one half of his cavalry in the van, and the other half in the rear. But now as the Theſſalians retarded his march, by frequently falling upon his rear, he found himſelf obliged to detach all thoſe in his van thither, ſuch excepted as he kept about his own perſon.

When

When the enemy found themſelves preſſed by the heavy-armed troops, in conjunction with theſe, they gave back by little and little, when thoſe who imprudently followed them, did it to their own loſs. AGESILAUS therefore, once more reinforcing them with his own guard, charged them, upon the next occaſion, to purſue the enemy in a body, 'till they were entirely diſperſed. The Theſſalians then attacking, and ſlowly retiring as uſual, were ſurprized to find themſelves cloſely purſued by the complete body in order; and while ſome of them, in the confuſion which this occaſioned, puſh'd on to avoid the danger, others were cut down, or taken priſoners, as they endeavoured to turn and defend themſelves. Polycharmus the Pharſalian, who commanded them, was ſlain fighting, with thoſe around him. On this they all fled with precipitation, nor ſtopped 'till they had gained the mountain of the Anthracenſians. But many of them in this flight loſt their liberty or lives.

AGESILAUS raiſed a trophy, and encamped in the ſame place to refreſh his army. He was exceedingly delighted with this victory, as it was gained by a body of cavalry of his own forming, againſt thoſe who were eſteemed the beſt horſemen in the world. The next day, having paſſed the mountains of Pthia, the reſt of his march was among friends, 'till he came to Bœotia. Here the Phocenſians and Orchomenians joined him.

On the other ſide, the Thebans, Athenians, Corinthians, Argives, Ænians, Eubœans, and both the Locrians, had waited his arrival, and were prepared to give him a warm reception.

Ageſilaus had but about a thouſand Spartans with him, but had ſo increaſed the reſt of his forces, that he was not out-numbered by the enemy; tho' he had left four thouſand behind him in Aſia, to ſecure his conqueſts. Theſe were all completely armed. Nothing was to be ſeen amongſt them but glittering braſs and purple. They were inured to labor; men of approved courage, and of ſuch mutual emulation, as to engage with alacrity any body of men that could be brought againſt them.

Hence the conteſt was like to be very ſharp; for the Thebans and their allies were choice troops, and fluſh'd with victory, having defeated one army of the Lacedæmonians already, in which action the brave Lyſander fell; and obliged another under Pauſanias to retreat.

Ageſilaus commanded the right wing of his own army; and in the left were the Orchomenians, in the fartheſt ranks. On the enemy's ſide, the Thebans made the right wing, and the Argives the left. When the armies were approaching each other, a ſtill ſilence was obſerved on both ſides, 'till they came

came within the diſtance of two hundred yards. Then the Thebans ſet up a loud ſhout, and ran forward to engage. When the enemy were within twelve or thirteen yards of them, the troops commanded by Herippidas, ruſhed out to the encounter. Theſe conſiſted partly of ſuch as had followed the younger Cyrus in his expedition, and of Ionians, Æolians, and their neighbours near the Helleſpont. And theſe, when they came to the ſpear's point, put the oppoſite wing to flight. Nor did the Argives ſtand long againſt the impetuoſity of thoſe who attacked them under the immediate command and eye of AGESILAUS, but made off towards Helicon; for the battle was fought in the plain of Coronea. Some of the Aſiatics, ſeeing this, crowned AGESILAUS as already victorious. But at this inſtant news was brought to him, that the Thebans had broken through the Orchomenians, and were plundering the baggage. Inſtead therefore of purſuing the flying enemy, he wheeled round to attack the Thebans. But theſe, now ſeeing that their companions had fled, had recollected themſelves in time, and were marching after them in good order. The conduct of AGESILAUS is arraigned by ſeveral writers on this occaſion, who pretend that he was guilty of a great over-ſight in not letting the Thebans paſs forward, and then attacking them in flank and rear, whereby he might have gained an eaſier victory. However that be, he was not ſolicitous to chuſe the ſafeſt mea-

ſures for himſelf; ſince it is certain that he charged them in front, and the encounter was very terrible. There was no ſhouting or clamour on this occaſion, but only ſuch a murmur was heard as is the effect of ſtrong reſentment and a determined reſolution to deſtroy the enemy. But at length the Thebans were obliged to give way, and follow their allies towards Helicon, of whom great numbers fell in the retreat.

In this battle, which Xenophon (who was in it) calls the moſt obſtinate which that age had known, Agesilaus was wounded by different weapons in almoſt every part of his body. In this dreadful condition as he lay, ſome of his own horſe galloped up to him, and informed him, that fourſcore of the enemy in arms had taken refuge in a neighbouring temple. But in pain and torture as he was, he entertained no thoughts of vengeance, and refuſed to ſully his victory or his piety, by the death of brave men, or the infringement of the ſanctuary which they had choſen. On the contrary, he not only gave orders that they ſhould be permitted to retire without moleſtation whither they pleaſed, but alſo commanded a party of horſe to eſcorte them to a place of ſafety.

The next day the king gave directions to Gylus, his lieutenant, to draw out the army and erect a trophy; to ſee that all the men had crowns of victory on their heads, and to order the muſic of the whole

whole army to play. While this was doing, an herald arrived from the Thebans to requeſt a truce with leave to bury their dead. This was granted; and AGELILAUS departed in triumph for Lacedæmon; being better pleaſed to enjoy a limited authority in his own country, which he loved with all the tenderneſs of a dutiful ſon, than to be abſolute, and the firſt man in Aſia.

HIS next expedition was againſt Argos, the whole territory of which he laid waſte, and then led his army towards Corinth, the head-quarters of the confederates. Here, according to Cornelius Nepos, in one battle, he put to the ſword ten thouſand of the enemy, and broke their ſtrength: but was ſo far from glorying in this ſucceſs, that he lamented the hard fortune of Greece, whoſe ſons thus periſhed through the artifices of the common enemy.

HAVING thus driven the enemy within the walls of Corinth, many adviſed him to ſtorm the city; he anſwered, "that it did not at all ſuit his diſpoſition; "that he conceived it his buſineſs to bring thoſe "that were in error to a ſenſe of their duty; and "not to deſtroy the nobleſt cities in Greece. For "while we deſtroy thoſe who have fought with us "againſt the Barbarians, we are but doing their buſineſs, and putting it in their power to oppreſs us, "when they pleaſe." He then made himſelf maſter of

of the walls as far as to Lechæum, the port-town in the bay of Corinth; which done, he returned home to the celebration of the feaſt called Hyacinthia.

AFTER this, underſtanding that the Corinthians kept all their cattle in the Piræum, and that the Bœotians had an eaſy communication with Corinth this way from Creuſis, he led his forces thither. But finding it crowded with defendants, after his troops had taken the neceſſary refreſhment, he marched thence ſtrait to the city, and ſat down before it. On this alarm, all that were in the Piræum, removed to Corinth in the night, for its defence. At break of day AGESILAUS roſe with his army, and marched back again; when he found the Piræum deſerted and abandoned, which he took poſſeſſion of, with all that was in it, and the ſeveral fortifications which had been lately added.

AFTER this expedition, the Achæans, who were inclined to a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, demanded aid of them againſt the Acarnanians. AGESILAUS was therefore ſent againſt them, gained a victory, and erected a trophy. In conſequence of this, he managed affairs ſo prudently, that not only a reconciliation was brought about between thoſe two people, but a friendſhip alſo was eſtabliſhed between them and the Ætolians and Argives, and between the Lacedæmonians and all of them. But

firſt, as AGESILAUS had inſiſted, the reſtoration of all who had been exiled as Partiſans of Sparta, was provided for. The ſame thing was done, with reſpect to the Phliaſians.

HIS tenderneſs indeed for the friends and allies of the Spartan commonwealth was remarkable. When ſome few of them were put to death by their adverſaries at Thebes; to revenge theſe and to ſuccour the reſt, he led an army againſt that city. But finding all ſo well fortified with foſſes and ramparts, that they could not be forced, he laid waſte the country from Cynocephalæ to the city, and offered the Thebans battle, both in the plain and the hill-country, which they refuſed. The next year he led his army once more againſt Thebes, and having made himſelf maſter of the fortifications of Scolus, waſted all the reſt of Bæotia.

HE refuſed to be concerned in that expedition however, which ended in the total diſcomfiture of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra; as if he had foreſeen the event. After that fatal calamity, wherein almoſt as many of his country-men periſhed as were left behind at home, and it was ſuppoſed that the Spartans would no more be able to march out of their own country; and there was now a declared aſſociation between the Bæotians, Arcadians and Eleans: yet, on ſome violence offered to his friends at Tegea, he

he took the field with no more than a ſingle Mora or regiment, conſiſting of about ſeven hundred men, and utterly deſtroyed the whole region of thoſe who had committed this injury.

But now the time approached, which was to determine whether Lacedæmon itſelf ſhould any longer have a being or not. For the confederacy againſt it was now become general. The Arcadians, Argives, Eleans, Bæotians, Phocenſians, Locrians, Theſſalians, Ænians, Acarnanians and Eubœans, all marched againſt it; while its own ſlaves and many of the neighbouring cities revolted. The conjuncture was nice and required the moſt conſummate prudence joined with the moſt invincible courage.

On this occaſion Agesilaus was appointed dictator, or rather legiſlator, with a power over the laws themſelves. The reaſon of this extraordinary inveſture was, that ſuch as fled from the battle of Leuctra, had been of courſe degraded from their honors, conſtrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half-ſhaved, and to ſuffer any who pleaſed, to inſult and beat them without reſiſtance. But the exerciſe of ſuch ſeverity in this diſtreſs of the republic was judged improper, and might be attended with ill conſequences. To remedy this, an abſolute authority was entruſted with Agesilaus. And this prince immediately

immediately on the occaſion, gave a proof that he was worthy of the truſt repoſed in him: a proof which ſet him above all compariſon, and which indeed can never be ſufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public aſſembly, and by one ſhort ſentence reſtored the public peace, quieted ſuch as were under apprehenſions, and at the ſame time ſaved the Lycurgic inſtitutes. The ſentence, which he pronounced authoritatively, was this; "Let the laws ſleep to-day; but to-morrow let them "reſume their full vigor." Then old and lame as he was, he made that expedition towards Tegea in Arcadia, which we have juſt mentioned; to ſhew them that the fortune of Sparta was not entirely loſt.

AND now that Laconia itſelf was invaded by the great Epaminondas, at the head of fifty thouſand men, he appeared to have ſufficient reſources in his own prudence and courage. For, tho' the city was without walls, they found an impregnable barrier in the king himſelf; who diſpoſed the citizens with ſuch ſkill, ſo readily and effectually oppoſed the enemy, wherever they attempted to enter, and was ſo quick at ſeeing and making the moſt of every advantage, that the illuſtrious Theban found it impoſſible to attack the place to any purpoſe. So that it was evident enough, that had not AGESILAUS then been, neither had Sparta.

BUT

But it was not with the public enemy alone that Agesilaus was engaged. For in the midſt of theſe diſtractions, a very dangerous conſpiracy broke out. Two hundred of the Spartan youth had determined to join the enemy, and for that purpoſe had ſeized the temple of Diana at Iſſorion. Thoſe under Agesilaus would have attacked them immediately and put them to the ſword. But the king, not knowing how far the contagion might have reached, would not ſuffer it. He went himſelf to the place, attended by one ſervant only. When he drew near, he called out to them, "Gentlemen, you miſtook my orders: I did not direct "that you ſhould come all to this one place; but "that ſome of you ſhould go there—and ſome there." The conſpirators, hearing this, believed that they were not diſcovered. Therefore, inſtantly ſeparating they went to the poſts which he had aſſigned. Thus ſeparated, they were eaſily ſeized; and being conducted to examination, were afterwards put to death the ſame night: the laſt neceſſity ſuperſeding the ordinary forms of law.

It has been objected to the conduct of Agesilaus, that his inveteracy to the Thebans was the great cauſe of the prolongation of this war, which had well nigh ended in the ruin of the Lacedæmonian ſtate. But, if this really was the caſe, as to us it does not appear to have been, yet the great

great ſervices which he did for his country therein, and his preſerving the city from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were ſuch reparations, that we may juſtly commend the Spartans for over-looking the failings of their prince, and making uſe of thoſe high qualities, which were alone capable of preſerving them. And from this event we may learn, how ſoon the haughtineſs of any ſtate can raiſe up enemies enough to pull it down; and how far the wiſdom of a ſingle perſon may be capable of conſerving and reſtoring a dejected and defeated nation, both as to ſpirits and power.

AFTER the Bæotic war had laſted five years, a peace was concluded. But in the ſecond year of the 104th Olympiad, new commotions broke out in Peloponneſus. The Tegæans and Mantinæans making war on each other, the former requeſted the aid of the Thebans, and the latter of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. This gave occaſion to a new and fatal controverſy. For Epaminondas, at the head of a great army, marching to the aſſiſtance of his allies, had notice that AGESILAUS with the whole power of Sparta was in full march to join the enemy. Hence that wiſe commander, conceiving within himſelf that Sparta muſt be left naked, directed his march thither with the utmoſt diligence. This meaſure was ſo well taken and ſo briſkly purſued, that there was the greateſt probability of its ſucceſs.

But by accident a perſon gave notice of his march to AGESILAUS, who inſtantly diſpatched a courier to Sparta, to warn the citizens to be upon their guard. Archidamus, the ſon of AGESILAUS, no ſooner received his father's diſpatch, than he made all proper diſpoſitions for the defence of the place. The old men and boys he placed on the tops of the houſes, that they might incommode the Thebans by throwing tiles and ſtones. Such as were capable of bearing arms he poſted in all the avenues of the city. So that when Epaminondas came, he had the mortification to ſee that his deſign was diſcovered and the enemy prepared for him. Yet he made trial of them by attacking the place, but was ſo warmly received, that he found it impoſſible for him to think of entering, without very great loſs. When he drew off, Archidamus imprudently followed him, and thereby gave him an opportunity of revenging the loſs which the Thebans had ſuſtained, by cutting off a great number of Spartans, who had thus unneceſſarily expoſed themſelves by an unwary purſuit.

EPAMINONDAS, to make himſelf ſome amends for this ſucceſsleſs attempt, marched directly to ſurprize Mantinœa, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by AGESILAUS's march to the relief of Sparta. But here again, a very accident defeated all his wiſdom. It happened that ſix thouſand Athenian ſuccours were juſt landed in Peloponneſus,

neſus, and entered Mantinœa on the very day that he attacked it. Theſe being freſh and full of ſpirits had the better of his horſe, and forced him to abandon his deſign.

THESE miſcarriages ſunk deep into the boſom of this great general, who, reflecting that his commiſſion was about to expire, and that if he retired out of Peloponneſus without effecting any thing, he ſhould not only loſe his own glory, but that authority alſo to which he had raiſed his country, he determined, for the preſervation of both theſe, to riſque a battle at all events. When therefore he underſtood that AGESILAUS, at the head of the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians, with the reſt of the allies, being no fewer than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, were arrived in the neighbourhood of Mantinœa, he led forth his army; and having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of Tegæa, as if he intended to encamp there; but on a ſudden altering the diſpoſition of his line, to give it the form of a wedge, he ſpeedily marched back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no ſuch matter. The confuſion was ſo great, that, probably, the Thebans might have acquired an eaſy victory, if Epaminondas, charging the Lacedæmonians, had not expoſed his perſon too much. For they, knowing well that the whole power of Thebes centred in this ſingle man, cover-

ed him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleſh and returned upon thoſe who diſcharged them. At laſt, one Anticiates, a Spartan, as ſome ſay, according to others, one Machærion of Mantinœa, but, as the Athenians and Thebans agree, Gryllus, the ſon of the famous Xenophon, ſtruck him into the breaſt with a javelin, and with ſuch force, that it broke and left the iron ſticking in his body. His fall occaſioned a new conteſt for his body. And in this, with much ado, his country-men were victorious, Gryllus himſelf being ſlain, tho' with the loſs of their beſt officers. When he was conveyed to the camp, he recovered his voice and ſpirits enough to aſk, Whether the enemy had gained poſſeſſion of his ſhield, or not, when he fell. Being told that it was ſafe, and having it brought to him, he kiſſed it as the companion of his labors and his glory. Then aſking, Who were conquerors? And being anſwered, the Thebans; "'Tis "enough," he ſaid, and expired with ſatisfaction. Such was the end of the great Epaminondas.

All Greece looked with concern on the iſſue of this buſineſs. And the contending parties, fearing the continuance of ſo bloody a war, ſtruck up a general peace. Into the terms of which however, the Lacedæmonians, at the inſtance of Agesilaus, refuſed to enter. For this he incurred the cenſure of Plutarch; who is no leſs diſpleaſed with the laſt

actions

actions of his life. How juſtly, let the reader judge, when we have laid them before him in review.

AGESILAUS now, finding that the Perſian was no longer inclined to diſturb Sparta, conſented, for the ſake of a large ſubſidy given to his country by the king of Egypt, to go in perſon and command the Greek mercenaries in his ſervice. As ſoon as he arrived in Egypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him at his landing. His reputation was ſo great, that it had raiſed the expectation of the whole country, which flocked in to ſee him. But when they found, inſtead of the great prince whom they looked for, a little old man of contemptible preſence, lying down without ceremony upon the graſs, his hair uncombed, and his cloaths thread-bare, they fell into a laughter and took ſcorn of him, crying out, that the old proverb was now made good, "The mountain had "brought forth a mouſe." They were much ſcandalized at his inſenſibility and rudeneſs, as they judged it, who, when the preſents uſually offered to ſtrangers of diſtinction were made him, conſiſting of all manner of proviſions, took only the meal, the calves and the geeſe, but rejected the ſweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes. And when they urged him to the acceptance of them, he ſaid, "They might carry them to his ſlaves, the Helotes." Theophraſtus ſays, that of all the things which he ſaw in

Egypt, he was taken with nothing ſo much as the Papyrus, ſo proper for garlands, by reaſon of the ſmoothneſs and pliantneſs of its rind: and when he left Egypt, he deſired the king to let him carry ſome of it home with him. When he joined with Tachos, he found his expectation of being generaliſſimo fruſtrated. For Tachos reſerved that place for himſelf, making AGESILAUS only captain of the band of mercenaries, and Chabrias, the Athenian, admiral.

THIS diſappointment was the firſt occaſion of his diſcontent. But others were ſoon adminiſtered. He was daily tired with the inſolence and vanity of this Egyptian; yet was at length forced to attend him into Phænicia, in a condition much beneath his ſpirit and dignity. He was notwithſtanding obliged to digeſt this for a while, 'till he had an opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment. This opportunity was ſoon afforded him by Nectanabis, the nephew of Tachos, and a great captain under him; who took occaſion to fall off from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians. This man offered great rewards both to AGESILAUS and to Chabrias, to induce them to accede to his party.

TACHOS quickly received intelligence of the meaſures carrying on againſt him. He had then recourſe to all the ſubmiſſive methods he could think of

of, in order to engage them both to his intereſt. The latter readily yielded to his entreaties, and endeavoured all he could to perſuade AGESILAUS. But he pretended to depend wholly upon the orders which ſhould be ſent to him from Sparta, whither both the Egyptian princes had diſpatched their ambaſſadors. The Lacedæmonians left the whole matter to AGESILAUS, directing him only to do what was moſt for the benefit of the common-wealth. Having received theſe inſtructions, he immediately betook himſelf to the party of Nectanabis, and carried off all the mercenaries with him. He had not been long in this new ſervice, before a certain Mendeſian ſet up his claim to the Egyptian kingdom, and brought an hundred thouſand men at his heels to ſupport it. He attempted to tamper with AGESILAUS, of which Nectanabis having notice, he began to be ſuſpected. This ſuſpicion was increaſed, when AGESILAUS adviſed him to fight this multitude immediately. He took quite a different method, retiring into a ſtrong city, and ſhutting up himſelf and his troops therein. The Mendeſian advanced and inveſted the place immediately, and began to ſink a ditch, and and throw up entrenchments all round the place. Nectanabis then all on a ſudden grew fearful of being cooped up and ſtarved out, and therefore talked of fighting. But in this AGESILAUS now oppoſed him. The Greeks blamed him for ſo doing, and the Egyptians did not ſcruple to call

call him traitor. All this the king bore with patience. At laſt, when the enemy had almoſt perfected their works, and only a narrow aperture was left, AGESILAUS went up to Nectanabis, and addreſſed him thus: "Now, young man, you have an opportunity of ſaving yourſelf; your enemies have "been all this time working for you: if you iſſue "out with your forces, you will eaſily beat thoſe "who guard the gap which is yet open; and as "for the reſt, their own works will hinder them "from ſurrounding us." Nectanabis, admiring his wiſdom, exactly followed his advice. By which means he routed his competitor, and, leaving the conduct of the war for the future to AGESILAUS, quickly ſubdued all his enemies, and ſettled himſelf firmly on the throne.

AFTER this, being eagerly deſirous of doing ſtill ſomething more for the ſervice of his country, the king of Sparta embarked in order to return to Greece, carrying with him, amongſt other rich preſents, a gratuity of two hundred and thirty talents, as a free gift from Nectanabis to the ſtate of Sparta. In this voyage he died; and for want of honey, which the Spartans were wont to uſe in embalming, his ſervants wrapped his body in wax, and brought it ſafe to Sparta.

XENOPHON has taken much pains to vindicate his defertion of Tachos. His uſage indeed was by no means proportioned to the ſervices expected from him; and his experience ſaw evidently that it would be more for the benefit of the Spartan ſtate. But Plutarch treats it as an act of treachery, proceding entirely from the Spartan maxim, that "all "things are juſt, which are profitable to one's "country."

IN all other inſtances he had been a religious obſerver of his engagements, even when the enemy had failed on his part. And to this much of his ſucceſs in Aſia had been owing. He delighted to enrich his ſoldiers and his country, but kept nothing for himſelf. Even the great preſents, which he received for himſelf from foreign princes and ſtates, went all into the public treaſury. Indeed he needed but little for himſelf; for he was ſober chaſte, abſtemious, and bore toils and hardſhips with incredible patience and alacrity. His own home was the mean houſe, which Euryſthenes, the progenitor of his family had formerly dwelled in; and in which you might have ſeen many evidences of tolerance and hard living, but not the leaſt trace of pleaſure or of luxury. He was eighty and four years old when he died, and had reigned forty one. If he had any great failing, or that can poſſibly be called ſuch, it was the exceſſive love of his country.

So,

So that our poet's thought may be well applied to him,

AGESILAUS, at his lateſt breath,
Ev'n felt the ruling paſſion ſtrong in death,
Great in thoſe moments as in all the paſt,
And, "Heav'n, preſerve my country!" was his laſt.

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END of the Third VOLUME.